An ESSAY on a

QUESTION

Relating to

Divine Worship

VIZ.

Whether it be contrary to the Apostolical Laws of Decency and Reverence, for a Man to have his Head covered in the time and place of God's Solemn publick Worship? Aff.

By *Samuel Stoddon*, Minister of the Gospel.

Levit. 19. 30.

Ye shall keep my Sabbaths, and Reverence my Sanctuary: I am the Lord.

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To the Honourable Sir. *H. F.* Knight.

S. S. wiſheth all happineſs of this, and of the better Life.

Honoured Sir,

THE *vanity of the creature, which is by daily, and ſometimes by dear experience taught us, hath this happy influence on all pious minds, to raiſe in them the greater reverence of, and cloſer adherence to the Creator; Whom to know, is higheſt wiſdom; whom to ſerve, is perfect freedom: whom rightly to worſhip, is indiſpenſible duty; and whom to enjoy is incomprehenſible felicity. But where there is a Reverential awe of the Supreme Deity form'd in the heart, there will be ſutable expreſſions in the external deportment, eſpecially in the acts of ſolemn devotion; ſo that the irreverence of the outer man proclaims to the world but the hidden Atheiſm of the inner. It hath been always matter of indignation with me, to ſee the* Ludicra Fortunæ, *the Interludes of Fortune, magnified with the honour of Courtly Ceremonies, and the Worſhip of that God who diſpenſeth all theſe little things as he pleaſeth, vilified by thoſe that irrevcrently draw nigh to him. Though I am no* Hyperaſpiſtes *of uninſtituted ceremonies; yet God forbid that I ſhould not declare againſt prophane Indecencies. I confeſs I know not whoſe Succeſſor I am in the province that I have undertaken, or who hath been before me in it. I am like one that is going a pilgrimage over the* Alpes via aſpera & conſolita, *in a rough and untrod path; but that ſacred thred of Scripture which I have taken with me, I truſt, will bring me ſafe to the Temple I aim at. I know I ſhall diſpleaſe ſome, and ſeem as an idle wanderer to others; but thanks be to God, who hath inſtructed me to live above the unjuſt cenſures of men, and to rejoyce in the conſcience of my integrity. Sir, It is my duty and*

your deſerts that oblige me to offer you this little part of my Studies; and not only duty, but hope of acceptance: Hope founded not on the Merit of the Action, but on the nature of the Subject, and the known ſuitableneſs of your apprehenſions and practice: ſo that, by this, I dare not ſo much as pretend to pay one mite of my debt, but to run further on the ſcore. Your favourable acceptance makes me more your debtor. The faults which more or leſs alway attend my beſt endeavours, I am conſcious of, and confeſs them both to God and man. As God hath promiſed remittere confitenti, *to forgive the Confeſſor, ſo I hope will you. Certainly I have not wilfully ſwerved from the Truth. If this poor* Eſſay *may intereſs it ſelf in Gods bleſſing, and your favour and good opinion, I may expect the ſucceſs that will fully anſwer the ends of,*

Honoured Sir,

Yours heartily devoted in all

Chriſtian obſervance,

S. S.

An ESSAY on a Queſtion relating to Divine Worſhip, *Viz. Whether it be contrary to the Apoſtolical Laws of Decency and Reverence, for a Man to have his Head covered in the time and place of Gods Solemn publick Worſhip?* Aff.

The INTRODUCTION.

CUSTOM hath of old been fam'd, and always is found to be one of the *touchy Deities*, as one calls it; he that preſumes to prophane her *Altars*, muſt expect the ſevereſt Thunderbolt that her angry fiſt can diſpenſe. And though ſhe pretends a claim in almoſt every thing that concerns humane life, and often to the prejudice and diſturbance of diſcretion, yet in no caſe is ſhe obſerv'd to be ſo tender and froppiſh as in the concerns of Religion, of what kind or conſtitution ſoever the Religion be. 'Tis true, it is but a pedling kind of *Deity*, occupied, for the moſt part, about the *minutes* and *punctilio's* of greater affairs, but exceſſively fond of thoſe her ſmall Wares. He that ſets himſelf againſt a Cuſtom, takes a *Bear* by the ear, and meddles with the *Diana*, which is enough to pull the whole world, eſpecially the intereſſed party, upon his head.

It is now my hard Task (becauſe I ſee no other that hath or is about) to appear againſt one of the younger Brats of this

this monſtrous thing *Cuſtom*. I confeſs it is ſome encouragement, that it is a Brat of a late birth, for old age is the main thing that gives this creature ſtrength; wherein it is unlike to moſt others. When it is grown gray-headed, it begins to claim a veneration, and is held Sacred. And the truth is, till it be full-grown, it is but a *novelty*, or *faſhion*; and deſerves not the name of Cuſtom.

Yet of Cuſtoms or Uſages, as of moſt other *Species*, there are ſome good, ſome evil, and ſome adiaphorous, or as chips in pottage. By how much the more any Cuſtom hath of truth, of real decency, of neceſſary order, or tendency to edification, by ſo much the more venerable and legitimate, of what age, complexion, or ſex ſoever it be; but by how much the more remote from theſe, by ſo much the leſs to be regarded, yea by ſo much the more to be oppoſed. And though the courteſie, or rather the corruptions of time have honoured it with gray-hairs, it is but like the hoary muſtineſs of many other things, the proper livery or ſymptome of putrefaction.

As for thoſe petty *Novelties* and *Protean* Modes that never pretend to ſoar higher in their nature or uſe, than the orb of Civil converſation, they are without the lines of our preſent conſideration. Theſe like the ſpawn of Frogs, are ſent out every ſpring, and brooded by an old wandring *Hag*, the ghoſt of an indeterminate cuſtom, or humour of keeping tack with the preſent faſhions, which like *Almanacks* or *Inſects*, muſt change their ſhapes, and expire with the year. Theſe *Butter-flies* are not the things that I am now about to purſue, though the poor *Quaker* thinks it as bad as the plague of *Pharoahs* flies; but yet by their flaps and ſcuffles to drive them away, they have but ſtorm'd the peeviſh ſwarm the more about our ears. It were well indeed if ſome wiſer heads knew how to antidate this piece of levity.

The matter of the propoſed Queſtion is a Ceremony, or geſture appertaining to the external Worſhip of God, or at leaſt, now on the Teſt, whether it ſo appertain *de jure*, or no. And ſeeing it belongs not to *Cæſar*, nor falls under the cognizance of his *Cuſtom-Office*, but appeal is made to an higher Court, of Conſcience, to Conſcience we will go, where the Word of God is the ſole Judg, and infallible determiner of all ſuch

ſuch Queſtions as concern God, or another world. And indeed it is the ſingular priviledg and dignity of the Church, that thoſe unerring *Oracles* are committed to it, which may moderate and conclude thoſe endleſs wrangles and diſputes, which the capricious humours, the differing ſentiments, and various intereſts of men diſpoſe them to.

That God hath diſcharged his Goſpel-worſhip from the burdenſome Law of beggarly Ceremonies, is moſt evidently aſſerted in Scripture, and thankfully accepted by all his true Worſhippers. But therefore to abandon all Ceremonies, would be at once to explode the Chriſtian Religion, and baniſh the worſhip of God out of the world; that is, all external worſhip, which cannot poſſibly exiſt in *actu exercito* without the uſe of ſome ſuch things as we have no better name for than Ceremonies.

But of Ceremonies there are divers kinds, ſome of a *Civil*, others of a *Religious* uſe; with the firſt we have not to do at preſent. The Religious Ceremonies are either of *Humane* or *Divine* Inſtitution and Original. The *Humane* are either *Decretal* or *Traditional*; the *Decretal* are ſuch as on ſome pretence or other have receiv'd the ſtamp of humane Authority or Injunction, of which there are more than a good many; and in the rigid Impoſition of which, Church-tyranny doth mainly conſiſt. The *Traditional* are ſuch as ſteal in, as other faſhions do, without the midwifry of any Authority, *Humane* or *Divine*, and grow up with time into a cuſtom or uſe, and are various according to the variety of Times and Places; and ought to be called in queſtion by thoſe that deſire to preſerve the Worſhip of God in its due chaſtity and integrity, and that dare not *miſcere ſacra prophanis*.

Thoſe of *Divine* Inſtitution are either *Judaical*, or *Evangelical*. The *Judaical* are ſuch as were appointed of God, and calculated for the Church and Polity of the Jews, and all dyed with it at the coming of the Goſpel-miniſtration. The *Evangelical* Ceremonies are either *natural* or *inſtituted*. The *natural* either *common* or *proper*. The *common* natural ceremonies of Religion, are ſuch as are equally uſed in Civil and in Religious matters, as bowing the knee, uncovering the head, and ſome other things which reſpect that civil order, reverence, and decency, which ought to be obſerved in the external (and

eſpeci-

eſpecially in the publick) worſhip of God. The *proper* are ſuch as are not uſed but in the matters of Religion. The *inſtituted* ceremonies of the Goſpel ſtrictly and properly taken in contradiſtinction to *natural*, and which are deſigned to be of perpetual uſe, are only the two Sacraments, unleſs perhaps we may add the Impoſition of hands in Ordination. Tho' the Sacraments indeed are Ceremonies, and ſomewhat more, *viz.* Seals of the New Covenant; yet in a large ſenſe even natural ceremonies, and matters of real decency and order, that is ſuch things as are *ex naturâ rei, pro hic & nunc*, neceſſary hereunto, and acceptable in the Worſhip of God, are inſtituted too, *i. e.* commanded either implicitely or explicitely; for nothing offered by man, eſpecially in Worſhip, which is not in obedience to God, by virtue of ſome command, is honourable or acceptable to God; but what God hath commanded, he hath thereby inſtituted.

So then, the matter in hand will fall under the notion of a common, natural ceremony of Religion, pertaining to the Decency or Reverence of Gods Worſhip in the publick Aſſemblies of his Saints. And what authority it brings from the Supreme Lord and Lawgiver, we ſhall next enquire.

CAP. I.

Of Goſpel-Worſhip.

'Divine Worſhip (ſays Mr. *W. Bradſhaw*) is internal only, 'or external alſo. Internal Worſhip is meerly ſpiritu-'al, and performed only within the temple of mans heart, 'of which none are witneſſes but God and a mans own con-'ſcience. All the inward motions of the heart directed unto 'God, are parts of this Worſhip, as Faith, Hope, Confidence, 'Love, Fear, and Joy in God, *&c.* which are all of them di-'vers acts and parts of inward worſhip, in every one of which 'God is honoured. All which ſpring from the apprehenſion of 'our own wants, and Gods infinite exeellency and goodneſs 'towards us. External Worſhip is an expreſſing and ſetting 'forth of the internal, by outward ſigns and rites, by which,

as

'as by outward bodily ſhadows and colours, the ſpiritual 'inward worſhip of God is made viſible and ſenſible to o-'thers.

The *Internal* Worſhip may be conſidered either as *Habitual* or *Actual*. As *Habitual*, and ſo we are bound to worſhip God at all times, the obligation holding both *ſemper & ad ſemper*. As *Actual*, and ſo we are bound to worſhip him on all occaſions, the circumſtances whereof make it a duty ſo to do. The *External* Worſhip is either *publick*, *domeſtick*, or *ſecret*; in all which he ought to be worſhipped in ſpirit and in truth, as becomes his ſuper-excellent Greatneſs, and Infinite Holineſs.

As God is the Origin and Fountain, ſo he ought to be the Center of all Honour and Reverence, and the immediate and only object of all Religious worſhip and adoration. And as Honour and Reverence is due to him at all times, ſo eſpecially in his Worſhip. *I will be ſanctified in all that come nigh me*, Lev. 10. 3. And the more publick the Worſhip is, the more ſtrictly all kinds of Religious reverence are to be obſerved: *And before all the people I will be glorified.* Ibid. But the more private the duties of Worſhip are, the greater latitude is indulged in the external part, or ſigns of reverence and honour. For tho' theſe outward expreſſions, compoſitions, or geſtures of the body, be the genuine effects of that inward reverence of the mind, and ſo due to the divine Majeſty; yet it is with ſpecial reference unto men, that others may ſee how God is and ought to be feared of his Saints. So that ſuch things which are neceſſary in publick worſhip, are not alway ſo neceſſary in private or ſecret; and that which a perſon finds to be moſt advantageous to the right performance of his worſhip in ſecret, may not be ſo expedient in publick, becauſe there is not the like reaſon in both.

Though Goſpel-worſhip be λατρεία λογικὴ, *a Spiritual Worſhip*, in oppoſition to the irrational Idolatries of the Gentiles, and the Corporeal Sacrifices and Services of the *Jews*; yet it is a worſhip of the Body, as well as of the Soul. And though bodily exerciſes profiteth little, without true Godlineſs; yet while we ſojourn in the body, God expects that the body as well as ſoul and ſpirit be offered up to him, and bear its part in his Worſhip. But of this more hereafter.

In Gods Worſhip there muſt be nothing tender'd up to

God, but what we have (expreſly or conſequentally) warrant for from the Word of God; therefore to worſhip him in body or mind, any otherwiſe than he hath required, is to adulterate, or prophane his Worſhip, and to offer ſtrange fire, and expoſes the Worſhippers to his juſt indignation.

In the matters of Worſhip, the jealous God ſtands upon little things; that is, what we, perhaps, call little, as modes and geſtures, and other circumſtances, he calls great. *Nadab* and *Abihu* erred only in the place from which they took their fire to offer, which ſhould have been taken from the Altar, where God himſelf firſt kindled the fire from Heaven, and we know what this coſt them. *Uzzah* did but touch the Ark, and with an honeſt intention in the general, no doubt; but for this he muſt die. For a poor man to gather a few ſticks on the Sabbath-day, might have ſeem'd to us as no great matter; yet it was as much as his life was worth, the ſentence proceeding from God himſelf. The *Bethſhemites* did but look into the Ark, and they muſt pay for this, with the lives of fifty thouſand threeſcore and ten men.

Lev. 10.2. Cap. 9.27. 2 Sam. 6.7. Num. 15. 35. 1 Sam. 6. 19.

Though God hath allowed Chriſtians a greater latitude in his Worſhip, and hath not left them bound under the yoke of Levitical Rites and ſervitude; yet far be it from him to allow them to be irreverent in his Worſhip, this were to deſtroy his Worſhip; for *Worſhip and Reverence* are almoſt ſynonimous terms, and ſo are their oppoſites.

Matters of external order, decency, or reverence in the Worſhip of God, may not be determined by the will of man, but by the Law of Scripture and Nature; elſe what ſuperſtitions and novelties may not men introduce into the Worſhip of God, under the diſplayed banners of pretended order, decency, or reverence, as ſad experience hath been long witneſſing?

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Contains a brief Expoſition of the Sixteen firſt Verſes of 1 Cor. 11.

Verſ. 1.

BE *ye followers of me, even as I alſo am of Chriſt.* Wherein you have theſe three things: 1. An *Exhortation* propoſed. 2. The *Duty* limited. 3. An *Argument*, or incouragement inſinuated. The *Exhortation* is general, *Be ye followers of me.* Which (perhaps) *Janus*-like, looks both forward and backward; and is a tranſition and connexion between this and the former Chapter. He was laſt exhorting them to give none offence, neither to the *Jews*, nor to the Gentiles, nor to the Church of God; even as he himſelf did pleaſe all men in all things, not ſeeking his own profit, but the profit of many, that they may be ſaved. And now, *Be ye followers of me* herein. Thus as it looks backward. Next he minds them of their remembring him in all things, and keeping the Ordinances, as he had delivered to them; wherein he praiſes them, *ver.* 2. yet with a *But*, ver. 3. whereunto he very pertinently premiſes this Exhortation, *Be ye followers of me.* Intimating that though they had followed him in ſome things, for which he praiſes them; yet not in all; which made it neceſſary to remind them of the duty, *Be ye followers of me*, of my Doctrine, and of my Example, μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε, Be ye imitaters of me, like me in all reſpects, as far as you may, in ſpirit, in judgment, in practice and behaviour. Not as Chriſt would have his Diſciples imitate the Scribes and Phariſees: *All whatſoever they bid you obſerve, that obſerve and do, but do not ye after their works, for they ſay and do not.* But take ye me for your Pattern in converſation, as well as in Doctrine. Mat. 23. 3.

But then, having ſtated their duty ſo largely, and foreſeeing what ill uſe they might make of it, he ſcarce ſtays to make a *comma*, but in the ſame breath limits his words, and ſets them their juſt bounds, *even as I alſo am of Chriſt: q. d.* Be not ſo fooliſh as to imitate me in my Infirmities, as *Alexander*'s Parafite did him; and as many others have ridiculouſly done. This were indeed to mock me, which vanity hath given the word μίμησις,

its evil acceptation. Be not ſo apiſh as to force your ſelves to an imitation of me in that which is naturally and *ideopathice*, peculiar to me, as in my tone, caſt of my eyes, *&c.* theſe things are fitter for *Monkeys* or *Parrots*, than for rational ſouls. Be not ſo wicked as to imitate me in my ſins, wherein I tranſgreſs, or fail of my duty, nor hope that my example ſhall juſtifie you in ſuch things. Make me your Pattern, not your Idol; but follow me as far as I follow Chriſt. To the *Philippians* he expreſſes it in more words: *Thoſe things which ye have both learned, and received, and heard, and ſeen in me, do; and the God of peace ſhall be with you*, Phil. 4. 9. And more particularly in the former verſe: *Whatſoever things are true, whatſoever things are honeſt, whatſoever things are juſt, whatſoever things are pure, whatſoever things are lovely, whatſoever things are of good report; if there be any vertue, and if there be any praiſe, think on theſe things.* In theſe words I imitate Chriſt; and in theſe be ye followers of me. Thus is the duty limited. And then the argument or encouragement is inſinuated; in ſo following me you do indeed follow Chriſt; I follow him, and you follow me, and ſo we follow him both. I am your Pattern but at ſecond hand, as I may make him a little more intelligible and imitable. Chriſt the Original, I the Tranſlation; Chriſt the Text, I the Comment. To imitate Chriſt is both ſafe and honourable; and this is all I aim at. It is far from my deſign to proſolyte you to a faction that you ſhould be of *Paul*, or of *Apollos*, or of *Cephas*; but to unite you all in the common center, Chriſt. Hence I infer,

Inf. 1. That the Miniſters of Chriſt ought to be examples of the believers in word, in converſation, in charity, in ſpirit, in faith, in purity, in all things, wherein Chriſt is to be imitated; that they may be able boldly to ſay, *Be ye followers of us.*

Inf. 2. That it is the duty of all Chriſtian people to follow their faithful Guides in all things, wherein they follow Chriſt, and no further.

Inf. 3. That in following the Doctrine and Examples of the Apoſtles, we follow the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. *And are built upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles, Jeſus Chriſt himſelf being the chief corner-ſtone*, Eph. 2. 20.

Ver. 2. *Now I praiſe you, brethren, that you remember me in all things, and keep the Ordinances as I delivered them to you.*

Where-

Wherein you have theſe two things expreſt, 1. His *Appellation*, Brethren. 2. His *Commendation*; of which, 1. The *Form*, I praiſe you. 2. The *Matter*, That you remember me in all things, and keep the Ordinances, as I delivered them to you. The 3. is *Latent* and concealed: which is his *Deſign*, viz. to make way for his intended reproofs. The *Appellation* is full of ſweetneſs and condeſcention. What an Honour is it, that theſe poor converted Gentiles ſhould be owned as Brethren, by ſo eminent an Apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt: whereby he aſſures them of his love to them, his impoſing no unneceſſary things upon them, or Lording it over them, but ſerving in the ſame yoke of the Goſpel with them, and their right to the ſame inheritance with him? The *Commendation* is full of Honour, Comfort and Prudence. Of *Honour*, as it came from an Apoſtle, and that not of the meaneſt note; and through him, from the Lord Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, the Fountain of Honour. Their praiſe was of God, and not of man, full of *Comfort*, as it was a teſtimony and aſſurance, that they were ſo far right in their way to Heaven, and by Apoſtolical Approbation were confirmed in their hope. And full of *Prudence*, the aim of it being to encourage them in what was good, to inſinuate into their affections; to make way for neceſſary and intended reproofs; and to remove the prejudices which might enervate the power and ſucceſs of his Reprehenſions; which ſeems to be his great deſign in it. In the *Matter* of his *Commendations* are theſe two things, 1. That they remembred him in all things. Sometimes by this Phraſe, he ſignifies the remembrance of his wants, to ſupply them by their Charity, as 1 *Theſ.* 3. 6. But this is not likely to be his ſenſe here, if we conſider what he tells them 2 *Cor.* 11. 7, and 9. though the Phraſe indeed would ſeem to bear it, ὅτι πάντα μοῦ μέμνησθε *omnia mea*, all my affairs and concerns, and how I ſhall be provided for, and ſupplied in my Miniſterial work. But I rather think that this was leaſt in his thoughts; but that they remembred him in his Doctrine, Precepts, and Examples, what he had taught and left in charge with them to be obſerved; and how he had carried himſelf among them. 2. That they had kept the Ordinances as he had delivered them to them; that their remembrance was not only notional, but practical. They had obſerv'd and held faſt, not only the Ordinances which he had delivered, but as he had delivered them παραδόσεις, the *Traditions* in general, whether writ-

written or unwritten; all things that concern'd them as a Chriſtian Church, either in matters of Faith, Worſhip, Diſcipline, or Manners.

Obj. But how can this large Commendation conſiſt with this following reprehenſions?

Sol. 1. Either this muſt be reſtrained to the godly and ſincere, who made it their buſineſs to walk in all things according to Apoſtolical inſtitution or rules; or rather,

2. It muſt be underſtood in connexion with the following exceptions. *q. d.* Ye have done well, and deſerve praiſe in all things; holding faſt the Ordinances of the Goſpel for the main; only ſome few particulars I have to reprove you for, and endeavour to ſet you right in. Hence I infer,

Inf. 1. That it is the duty and wiſdom of all Chriſtians, but eſpecially of Miniſters, to palliate their reproofs with all gentleneſs and deſerved Commendations.

Inf. 2. That all the people of God, however dignified or diſtinguiſhed by God or man, are Brethren.

Inf. 3. That all Apoſtolical Precepts and Traditions ought to be remembred and kept intire, according to their primitive Inſtitution.

Ver. 3. *But I would have you know, that the head of every man is Chriſt, and that the head of the Woman is the Man, and the head of Chriſt, is God.*

But; Now came his exceptions to his former general Commendations, *q. d.* I would gladly praiſe you in all things as far as ye are praiſe-worthy; *But* there are ſome things which I cannot paſs without a reproof. *I would have you know.* Here he implicitely reproves their ignorance, and yet palliates the reproof, by laying the charge as low as poſſible he could. He doth not condemn them of preſumption, or contempt, or wilful irreverence; but of weakneſs, and want of better inſtruction. Therefore he wiſely begins to rectifie them in the foundation of their error, and to ſet them right as to their Judgments; knowing that it is in vain to urge a reproof upon the Conſcience, till the Judgment be informed. He doth not fall rudely upon them with hard words, or harder blows, to fright or club them into Conformity, but draws them with the Cords of a man, in that rational way, which

which is proper for rational Creatures. Doth not begin with the Affections, which is the way of the Devil and of the Beaſt; but with the Judgment, which is the ſurer way to fix them in what he is about to offer to them. *That the head of every man is Chriſt*, παντὸς ἀνδρὸς, which denotes not the *ſpecies*, but the *Sex*; the *Man* ſpoken in oppoſition to the *Woman*; as both the word and the following *Antitheſis*, do undeniably evince: *Of every man*, not reſtraining it to Chriſtian men, as ſome do; but more generally, becauſe all men, both in the Church and out of the Church, are put under this head Chriſt; though he be not head alike unto all. ἡ κεφαλὴ ὁ χριστὸς, both theſe terms muſt be explained, and the laſt firſt. Chriſt, not as *God* (though ſo he be the head, not only of every man, but of every Creature) for this would not ſhew that order of Subjection, or ſacred Hierarchie (if I may ſo ſpeak) which God hath placed in the myſtical Body; which is the thing the Apoſtle intends: nor can it be taken ſo in the next uſe of the word in the ſame Verſe; nor meerly as *Man*, for ſo he neither perform'd any of his Offices, nor had all things put by the Father in ſubjection under him. But as *Mediator*, under which conſideration, Relation and Capacity, the whole concern of the new Covenant is devolved upon him. The Head, ἡ κεφαλὴ. This cannot be taken properly, but tropologically: and ſo he is the Head, either to every man in general, or in ſpecial, to every man that is related to him, as a member of his myſtical body. In general, he is the head of every man. 1. In reſpect of *Excellency* and *Dignity*. Man, in reſpect of that Image, in which he was made, is the moſt excellent of all Gods ſublunary Creatures: And Man, in reſpect of his Sex, more excellent than Woman; but Chriſt the moſt excellent of all men, *Thou art fairer than the Children of men.* Pſal. 45 2. 2. In reſpect of *Inſpection*. The head is that which looks after, and provides for every part, and which manages all the concerns of the whole body; ſo doth Chriſt inſpect all the affairs, counſels and tranſactions of the Children of men. 3. In reſpect of *Domination*. It is he that governs and rules all, who is exalted above all Principalites and Powers; and hath the Government on his ſhoulders, both in his Political and Spiritual Kingdom. Thus he is the Head of every man in general. In ſpecial, he is the Head of every man that is related to him, as a Member of his myſtical Body; and that 1. In reſpect of *Primogeniture*. He is the firſt-born among many Brethren. 2. In reſpect of *Influence*, both of vita-

vitality and activity, *Eph.* 4. 15, 16. All the influences of Wiſdom and Grace are from him 3. In reſpect of ſpecial *Providence* and *Regency*. It is he that fore-ſees, provides and diſpoſes of all, for the good, and according to the ſtate and capacity of every member in his body.

Queſt. But why is he ſaid to be the Head of every man? Is he not the Head of the Woman too, who are equally members of his body without, any diſtinction of Sex?

Anſ. The Anſwer is eaſie. He is indeed the Head of his Church, which is his body, *Eph.* 5. 23. *Coloſ.* 1. 18. in which the Woman is comprehended, as well as the Man. But (as I ſaid) the Apoſtle is here ſhewing the order of the Superiority and Inferiority, which God hath inſtituted in that σωαρμογὴ, the *Frame* or *Fabrick* of the myſtical body, wherein all the parts are fitly joyned together and compacted in their ſeveral places and ſphears; ſo that in reſpect of order, Chriſt is the immediate Head of the Man, and Man the immediate Head of the Woman; but mediately or immediately, Chriſt is the Head of both. *And the Head of the Woman is the Man.* By this time I preſume there can be no great knot to untie here. We have another ſuch Propoſition as this, *Eph.* 5. 23. *The Husband is the Head of the Wife.*

Q. Now perhaps ſome one or other may think it worth his while to demand, Whether *Man* or *Woman* in the Text, be juſt the ſame as *Husband* and *Wife* here?

Anſ. In the original indeed, the words are the ſame in both places, *Man* and *Woman*; but here tranſlated Husband and Wife, as in this place indeed it ought to be, and frequently elſewhere it is uſed; but not in our preſent Text, where it is evident the Apoſtle ſpeaks more generally of the Sex, not of the Relation; elſe muſt the Virgins and the Widows be exempted, and that not only here, but in all the following diſcourſe, which cannot be. *And the Head of Chriſt is God.* We are now come to the head of the Apoſtles *Climax*, the Fountain and Original of all Dignity and Superintendency, which is God; that is, the Father. Not God *eſſential*, for ſo he cannot be the Head of Chriſt as Mediator; for then he muſt be Head to himſelf, which is abſurd, but God *Perſonal*; and ſo Chriſt as Mediator is ſubject to the Father, *My Father is greater than I*, John 14. 28.

Queſt.

Queſt. But if God the Father be Head of Chriſt as Mediator, how ſhall we underſtand that of the Apoſtle *Chap.* 15. 28. *And when all things ſhall be ſubdued unto him, then ſhall the Son alſo himſelf be ſubject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all?* Here he ſpeaks as if he were not yet ſubject to him, nor to be, till he hath delivered up the Kingdom to him.

Anſ. I confeſs this is a knot that hath buſied many wiſer heads than mine; but yet we need not take it for a *Gordian-knot*: for the Apoſtle doth not deny that Chriſt, as Mediator, is ſubject to the Father, as he that is ſent and deputed is (*eatenus*) inferior to him that ſent and deputed him. But when he ſays, the Son ſhall be ſubject unto him that put all things under him; it is no more but this: He ſhall then lay aſide his Mediatory Office, and give up his Commiſſion unto the Father, by virtue of which all power was given him both in Heaven and in Earth, *Matth.* 28. 18. that he ſhould reign as it were a vicarious King in the midſt of his enemies, *Pſal.* 110. 1, 2. as he had ſaid before, v. 24. *He ſhall deliver up the Kingdom to the Father.* It is as when a King ſhall ſend forth his Son into any of his Provinces with a Plenipotentiary power to ſuppreſs a Company of Rebels, and to defend his good Subjects; and ſo to reign with full power as Lord and King over them; but when the Rebellion is ſuppreſt, and all things ſecur'd, he is to return and deliver up this Commiſſion to his Father, from whom he received it. This is the caſe here. 'Tis true, the Father rules now, but it is by the Son; but then this kind of Government, which is on the Sons ſhoulders, ſhall be laid aſide. And this is the Subjection the Apoſtle here ſpeaks of. Nor doth this deny the Eternity of Chriſts Kingdom. As the Father now reigns by the Son, ſo the Son ſhall reign for ever with the Father, but after another manner than now, *That God may be all in all.* There ſhall then be no more need of a Mediator, but the Children of God ſhall have immediate acceſs to their Father, and immediate fruition of him. Now they ſee him in the face of Jeſus Chriſt, but then face to face. Chriſt as *God*, ſhall reign eternally with the Father and the Holy Spirit. Chriſt as *man*, ſhall be as he is, and ever from his firſt incarnation, was ſubject to him. Chriſt as *Mediator* or Vice-roy ſhall then ceaſe to be. Hence I infer,

Inf. 1. That the greateſt Commendations that are due to any Church here in this world, may juſtly admit of ſome But's.

Inf. 2. That plain inſtruction is the ſureſt way to a neceſſary Reformation.

Inf. 3. That God hath inſtituted a decent order of ſuperiority and inferiority in the myſtical body of Chriſt, which ought to be perpetually obſerv'd, and kept inviolate.

Ver. 4. *Every man praying or propheſying having his head covered, diſhonoureth his head.*

Now he comes more cloſe to the buſineſs, of which he charges them. Their guilt is implied, that they did not ſo pray and prophecy. The ſin is aggravated in this, That it was a diſhonouring of their head. *Every man* πᾶς ἀνὴρ. The Sex, in contradiſtinction to the Woman, as in the former verſe: *Praying or Propheſying.* Of Propheſying there are theſe two kinds obſerved in Scripture. 1. The revealing of ſecret and hidden things, either paſt, preſent, or to come, by ſome extraordinary inſpiration of the Spirit of God. 2. The ordinary preaching of the Goſpel, by ſuch as are lawfully deputed thereunto, 1 *Cor.* 13. 9. *Chap.* 14. 3. &c. And in this ſenſe eſpecially we are to take it here; becauſe that which the Apoſtle in this place intends, muſt be ſomething that is perpetual and univerſal to all the Churches; and therefore joyn'd with praying; which two comprehend all the other Acts of Gods ſolemn publick worſhip, as being the principal parts of it. *Praying or Propheſying*, that is, either immediately or mediately, comprehending both *Speakers* and *Hearers*; for the whole worſhip is the common and united act of the whole Congregation. All are ſaid to pray, when but one ſpeaketh; ſo all prophecy, though only one be the Speaker. On this account the Woman is put among them that prophecy, ver. 5. and yet we know, the Woman was not permitted to ſpeak in the Church, *Chap.* 14. 34, 35. So then, *Every man praying or prophecying*, is as much as to ſay, every man that is engaged in the publick worſhip of God, or any part of it; *having his head covered*, κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων, having [ſomething] on his head; that is, an ordinary artificial Covering, more than neceſſity, on the account of Infirmities, doth require. Which exception muſt be allowed, as you may hear more hereafter; *diſhonoureth his head*, κατ' αἰ-

καταισχύνει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, shameth and casts a slight or reproach upon his head. And here lies all the difficulty of this verse, *viz.* what we are to understand by *his head*. Some would have it to be his head natural or proper, which is spoken of just before, and ought to be uncovered in praying and prophesying; and so the dishonouring is but to a mans self. But others with much better reason say, it must be the Head mystical or figurative, spoken of in the precedent verse, which is Christ; and so the dishonour reflects higher. And because the pinch of the Question lies in this, I shall endeavour the more to clear the truth of it. 1. If a mans being covered in the time of publick worship, did only reflect dishonour upon his own head, and no one else concern'd in it but himself; it would have been too mean a thing for the Apostle to have busied himself in it; to have appeared with such a reproof, and to have entred it in sacred Writ. Were not God interessed in the case, it would be but a prophane thing, and unworthy of the Divine Records. Therefore certainly there is some one more than man concern'd in this Dishonour. 2. What tolerable reason can there be given of this *Aphorism* in the former verse, where he lays down this for a *maxim*, *The head of every man is Christ, and the head of the Woman is the Man, and the head of Christ is God*; if it be not to shew us, as with a finger, what we are to understand by the head of the man here; for that's the position which he proceeds on, and improves in the following Discourse, and here fetches his Argument from? 'Tis a dishonour to Christ, who is the head of the man. The truth is, I know not where to seek a fuller and clearer *Syllogism* in all the Book of God, than this. *The head of every man is Christ; Every man that prayeth or prophesyeth with his head covered, dishonoureth his head.* Erg. I wonder what Sophistry can fairly avoid the Conclusion, *viz. He that prayeth or prophesyeth with his head covered, dishonoureth Christ.* 3. The Relative αὐτοῦ, which is joyned with κεφαλὴν, will contribute much to the elucidation of the sense. It is not made by the *Possessive* τὴν ἑαυτοῦ *caput suum*, but by the *Relative* αὐτοῦ *ipsius*, and that in the *Genitive*; which is as much as to say, he dishonoureth him, that is, the head of him; who, as he had said just before, is Christ. 4. It would appear from the *Antithesis* in the next verse, *But every Woman that prayeth or prophesyeth with her head uncovered, dishonoureth her head.* Whom can we reasonably understand here by her head on whom the

dishonour is reflected, but the man, who he said, is the head of the Woman? For the covering of the head was a token of subjection, as will appear by several places of Scripture; for which I refer you to the seventh verse. Therefore the uncovering of the head is virtually and symbolically a denying of that subjection, which is a great dishonour to him, whom the God of Nature and Order hath made her head. And the truth is, I wonder to see the learned *Piscator* of another mind. Now if *her head*, ver. 5. must be expounded by ver. 3. so must *his head* too, ver. 4. Hence I infer,

Inf. 1. That Praying and Preaching are the great Gospel-Ordinances which comprehend all other parts of Divine Worship.

Inf. 2. That for a man to have his head covered, while engag'd in the solemn publick Worship of God, is a dishonour to Christ his Head.

Ver. 5. *But every woman that prayeth or propheseyeth with her head uncovered, dishonoureth her head; for that is even all one, as if she were shaven.*

Here we have the duty of the *Woman*, which lies diametrically opposite to that of the *Man*. For the different Sexs, are provided different Rules of Decency. That which is comely and honourable in one, is as unseemly and shameful in the other. *Every Woman*, that is, in the publick Congregation, of which he here discourses; *that prayeth or propheseyeth:* This cannot be understood of the extraordinary gifts of Prayer or Prophecy, which some very few of that Sex had attained unto, as *Anna*, *Mary*, the four Daughters of *Philip*; and in the Old Testament, *Miriam*, and *Deborah*, and *Huldah*, &c. for then by the same reason we must restrain it to the extraordinary Prophets of the *Men* in the precedent verse; and so this Rule of Decency both for the Man and the Woman, must cease with the cessation of these extraordinary gifts of the Spirit; and so the occasion would have been too slender for so many words, and so sharp a rebuke of so great an Apostle. Wherefore we must conclude, that the Apostle intended a common Rule of Decency for ordinary Worship, as the *Basis*, or Reason stated, ver. 3. is sufficient to evince. *With her head uncovered.* That is, without that ordinary covering, which

which ſhe uſes at other times, as her Age, Place, Condition, Cuſtom of the Country, or the Climate doth require. *Diſhonoureth her head.* That is, the *Man*, which ver. 3. was ſaid, (*ſenſu politico*) to be her head; for ſhould we take it for her head ſimply and properly, the diſhonour would be to her ſelf. But it is certain, the diſhonour reflects primarily and immediately on the Man, under whoſe Authority God and Nature hath put the Woman in ſubjection, and made the covering of the head, a token or badg of her inferiority and ſubjection, as appears by the Apoſtles diſcourſe here, and of which, more below. So that in uncovering her head, ſhe caſts off that Symbol of her ſubjection, and doth in effect deny the Mans Authority and Dominion. Whom then doth ſhe diſhonour, but the Man; while ſhe thus exalts her ſelf? As the Child is ſaid to diſhonour his Father in denying him due Reverence. 'Tis true, 'tis a ſinful and ſhameful thing for any one to deny the honour that is due to a Superior, the ſhame reflects upon himſelf; and ſo it doth upon the Woman in this caſe. But it is the Man that is the immediate object of the diſhonour, though ſhe be the Subject of it. Therefore it ſeems not to me, to be rational to think, that the Apoſtle intends to tell us how ſhe diſhonours her ſelf, when he ſays, ſhe diſhonoureth her head. Hence then I meaſure back by the ſame line of Reaſon, that it muſt alſo be Chriſt, the political or myſtical head of the Man, that is to be underſtood in the former verſe. Though it is true alſo, that with reference to this Symbol of Authority or Subjection, that is between the Man and the Woman, the Man ſeems to degrade himſelf, and to forfeit his Honour with the Woman, by having his head covered, and ſo he diſhonours himſelf. But this is not what the Apoſtle aims at. *For that is even all one, as if ſhe were ſhaven.* If ſhe be uncovered of her ordinary artificial covering, and therein change modes with the Man, and do that which is the Mans proper duty to do; ſhe were even as good put away her natural covering too, and be clipt or ſhaven, as the Man is; elſe ſhe looks like ſome odd monſtrous thing, which is neither Man nor Woman. The aſſumption we have in the next verſe. Hence I infer.

Inf. 1. That for a Woman to habit or attire her ſelf like a Man, is a ſin; *& vice verſa.*

Inf. 2. That for a Woman to have her head uncovered in the ſolemn publick Worſhip of God, is a diſhonour to the Man,

Man, whom God hath made to be her Head.

Ver, 6. *For if the Woman be not covered, let her alſo be ſhorn; but if it be a ſhame for a Woman to be ſhorn or ſhaven, let her be covered.*

Here by the way, I obſerve, That the Apoſtle makes a clear diſtinction between the *Natural* and *Actificial* Covering; and that when he ſpeaks of covering or uncovering the head, he intends only the artificial covering, which is various, according to the Countrys or Climates men live in; and therefore oppoſes it here to ſhaving off the hair, which is the covering which nature hath provided; and that nature needs. This diſtinction may be of uſe hereafter. The main buſineſs of this verſe, is to ſtate his Argument *a turpi & indecoro*, thus. If it be a ſhame for a Woman to be ſhorn or ſhaven, it is a ſhame to be uncovered in the Worſhip of God; But it is a ſhame for a Woman to be ſhorn or ſhaven: *Erg.* The *Major* he had prov'd in the former verſe, εν γαρ ἐστι, for that is even all one, as if ſhe were ſhaven. It is as ſhameful for the Woman to be uncovered, as it would be to be ſhaven or ſhorn. And if you will not take the Apoſtles word for this (which yet I ſhould take for a greater matter) his Reaſon is eaſily underſtood; becauſe in the one as well as in the other, the Woman tranſgreſſes the Rules of her Sex, and aſſumes that which is peculiar to the Man; and ſo diſhonours him whom God hath made to be her head, by caſting off the token of her due ſubjection and inferiority to him. For if ſhe change habits and modes with the Man in one thing, ſhe may as lawfully do it in another. The *Minor* he proves in the following verſes from the Law of God, the Law of Nature, and the Law of Eccleſiaſtical Cuſtom. Some buſie Critick or other, perhaps, may ask me, Why the Apoſtle uſes both theſe words here, κειρασθαι ἢ ξυρασθαι, *ſhorn* or *ſhaven*, and whether they be exegetical ſerving only to explain one another; I ſay no; becauſe they ſignifie two things. The one is to clip or ſhear, as men do with *Sizzars*; the other to ſhave as with a *Raſor*. By theſe two words then he expreſſes both the uſual ways of taking off the hair, either from the head or face. This then may ſerve to aggravate the caſe, *q. d.* For a Woman to be uncovered, and conſequently for a man to be covered in the ſacred actions of Gods Worſhip, is as

ſhame-

ſhameful a thing, as for a Woman to be trim'd head and face with *Sizzars* or *Raſor*, as a man is. Another Queſtion will be, On whom this ſhame reflects? And 'tis quickly anſwered: As it is a ſin in general, it reflects many ways. There is no ſin but reflects ſhame and guilt upon the ſinner; ſo the Woman ſhames her ſelf, and ſhames her Sex too; yea, every ſin reflects diſhonour upon God, againſt whom it is committed, and whoſe Law is thereby tranſgreſſed. But that which we have to enquire, is, Who the ~~the~~ immediate Object of this ſhame or diſhonour is? and when I have askt one Queſtion more, a Child ſhall anſwer this. When the Maſter is depoſed, and made to ſerve, and the Servant rules; when the Servant ſhall ſit down, and the Maſter wait, Who is that is diſhonoured, the Servant or the Maſter? So then, if the Woman be not covered, let her alſo be ſhorn; or (if you will give me leave to uſe the *Engliſh* Proverb, which is the neareſt of any that I know to the caſe) Let her wear the Breeches too; which (though it would be an ugly ſight, and very ill become the Woman, yet) every one will ſay, is a diſgrace to the Man. Hence I infer,

Inf. 1. That a breach of the Law of Decency in one part of it, is interpretatively a breach of the whole.

Inf. 2. That it is a good way to aggravate ſuch ſins, as we look upon as ſmall, with the ſhameful Conſequences of them.

Ver. 7. *For a Man indeed ought not to cover his head, for as much as he is the Image and Glory of God; but the Woman is the Glory of the Man.*

Here the Apoſtle aſſerts it to be the *Mans* duty to be uncovered. In what rank or file of Duties ſoever any one may place it, though perhaps among the *Minores*, yet ſure it muſt be too great a preſumption to disband it quite, or ſet it any where beneath the Title and Dignity of a Duty. I confeſs, I cannot but ſmile at the quaint Criticiſm of the Reverend *Piſcator* here, upon the word κατακαλύπτεσθαι *velare*, which he ſays, is more than *tegere* or *operire*; and therefore fancies that the Covering, which is here forbidden to the Man, is ſome odd kind of Dreſs, which veils or mopps up his head, and face and all; but as for any other covering, as Hat, or Cap, or Bonnet, &c. which doth not hide the face, he thinks this Text hath no quarrel with. But (ſaving the reve-

Piſcat. ſchol. in lac.

reverence of ſo learned and good a Servant of Chriſt) I muſt needs reply, 1. I know not among what ſort of people this blind faſhion was ever in uſe, unleſs it were the *Phariſæi Mortarii*; who (they ſay) to advance the eſteem of their Humility and Penitence, had their Caps made like a *Mortar*, covering face and all, as though they were going to pay their laſt Devotions at a Gallows. But among the *Corinthians*, I never heard of any that did affect that antick garb; therefore cannot in reaſon imagine, that the Apoſtle ſhould go about to reprove it in them. 2. This verſe muſt be expounded by verſe 4. as *Piſcator* himſelf confeſſes, where the word κατακυπτεσθαι is not uſed, but κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχειν, to wear any thing upon the head; which *Periphraſis* he ſeems to chuſe on purpoſe, that it might reach all kinds of acquired Coverings, and to anticipate all quarrels about it. 3. What is here forbidden to the Man, is commanded to the Woman; but if this be the kind of Covering that is forbidden to the one, and commanded to the other, then all thoſe Women ſin, that dare once ſhew their faces in the publick Congregations without a veil over them; and ſo thoſe are in good Condition that wear Hoods, provided they pull them down over their eyes (which it may be, ſome prudently do for the help of their Devotion, or to prevent the enſnaring of others eyes) but wo be to thoſe poor Country-women, whoſe Condition in the world allows them but a Hat; or, it may be, not ſo much to cover their heads with. But that it is the duty of the Woman ſo to blind-fold her ſelf, I think the *Doctor* himſelf would not affirm. *For as much as he is the Image and Glory of God.* Having aſſerted the Duty, he now gives the ground or reaſon of it. *The Image of God*, at leaſt, as he was at firſt created, and therein *his Glory*, or the Image of his Glory. That which God glories in, ſay ſome, as the Maſterpiece of his Creation. But this expoſition renders not the reaſon of the Propoſition. Wherefore the ſenſe muſt be thus; God hath made *Man* the Image of his Glory to the *Woman*, ſet him as it were in his ſtead, to repreſent his Authority; as on the ſame account Rulers and Judges are called Gods. God hath inveſted them with his Authority, to rule as Deputies for him over others; ſo God hath given *Man* his power to rule over the *Woman*, and ſet him in ſome reſpects, in the place of God to her, as *Moſes* was to *Aaron* in another caſe, *Exod.* 4. 16. The Glory of God is his infinite ſuperexcellency and ſuperintendency over

all

all his Creatures; and Man, in respect of that preheminence and superiority which God hath given him over the Woman, is the εἰκὼν the Image or Resemblance of this Glory of God. Therefore she ought to be coverd in token of her subjection to the Man, and in obedience to that God who hath made them both: but the Man ought to be uncovered, because he ows no subjection to her. *But the Woman is the Glory of the Man*; or that which the Man hath to glory in; both in respect of her Creation; the matter of it being part of the body of Man, and the end of it made for Man, as in the next verses; and in respect of her subjection to Man, as Children are said to be the Glory of their Parents, and Subjects the Glory of their Prince.

Ob. But now the next Question ought to be, How came this covering of the head to be a token of subjection? and if it be so, why should not the Man be covered too, in token of subjection to his head Christ?

Sol. This indeed is two Questions at once. I shall begin with the first, How this covering of the head, became a token of subjection?

1. We need not be very inquisitive how it came to be so, if we can prove from the Scripture that it is so; whether it were by Divine appointment or natural instinct, it is all one as to the case in hand.

2. For my own part, I think it was not so in the state of Innocency; but it was sin and shame, as the occasion, that brought it into the world. 'Tis true, God ought to have been worshipped in Innocency, and the Woman was even then inferior to the Man; but there was then no need nor use of veils, till by the fall, sin and shame required it.

3. That the Woman was put in greater subjection to the Man after the fall, than she was before, is evident from *Gen.* 3. 16. *Thy desire shall be to thy Husband, and he shall rule over thee*; which was more than ever he had said before. And in testimony of this subjection, it is rational to conclude, that there was some token given perpetually to be observed; that the Woman might alway be put in remembrance of her sin, in disobeying her Maker, and ensnaring the Man, and so pulling the yoke upon her own neck.

4. That this token of having the head covered, was of very early use in the world, we have several intimations in Scripture,

Gen. 20. 16. *Behold he is to thee a covering of the eyes*; which is a proverbial ſpeech, alluding to the known Cuſtom which was then among the Women. Thus *Abimelech* reproveth *Sarah*. The ſame is this; He is thy Husband unto whom thou oweſt thy ſelf, and under whoſe Protection thou ſhouldeſt have hid thy ſelf, as a Subject under the wing of her Sovereign. So *Gen.* 24. 65. when *Rebekkah* came to meet *Iſaac*, ſhe throws on her veil, in token of her ſubjection to him, as well as of her modeſty. But by the Apoſtles diſcourſe, and argumentation all along theſe verſes, we are now treating of, it is moſt evident, that the very end and ſignification of this Ceremony, is to teſtifie the Womans ſubjection and inferiority to the Man, ver. 3, 6, 7, 10. So then the covering of the head is, and ought to be the token of her ſubjection.

The other Queſtion, or part of the Queſtion, is, Why ſhould not the Man be covered too, in token of his ſubjection to his head Chriſt? To which I anſwer,

1. VVe never find that God or Nature did ſo appoint the Man to ſignifie his ſubjection to Chriſt by ſuch a Ceremony; therefore to preſume upon it without any warrant, is Superſtition.

2. This token of covering the head, is ordained to ſignifie the ſubjection and reverence that is due from the VVoman to the Man; and therefore unworthy to be uſed as a token of that which man ows to God. Though a univerſal ſubjection of ſoul and body be due to God, and all poſſible Reverence and Devotion, yet it muſt be expreſt by ſuch outward tokens as God appoints. Man is Gods glory, the VVoman is Mans; but *gloria Dei revelanda eſt, gloria autem hominis occultanda, velari ergo debet mulier, non vir.* Gods Glory muſt be open and revealed, but mans Glory (eſpecially having forfeited it by hearkning to the VVoman) muſt be covered and veiled; therefore the VVoman ought to be covered, not the Man.

3. Should the ſame Symbole of reverence and ſubjection be obſerved by the one, as by the other, it would be a Confuſion; the ſeries and order of this Subordination would not be diſcerned; therefore as the immediate *Object* of this veneration is different, and as the *Subject* is different too, in reſpect of Sex and Degree, ſo is the ſign or Symbole.

Quer. And here, perhaps, ſome body or other may ſtart another Query, VVhether the VVoman ought not to worſhip God in the Congregation as well as the Man?

So

Sol. I know nothing that ever I ſaid to the contrary: They ought to worſhip God with the ſame internal, ſpiritual religious Devotion; the common Object of Divine worſhip being the ſame to both; but yet with this difference of external habit, which relates immediately to the Man, who is her head, and that for the reaſons already given, and alſo for thoſe that follow. The covering of the head in general denotes guilt and ſhame, as well as ſubjection; and therefore appointed to the VVoman, who was firſt in the Tranſgreſſion. The uncovering of the head, ſignifies Power and Rule, and therefore appointed to the Man. But obſerve (to prevent another Quarrel) this is only *in ſacris*, between God and Man, though it be otherwiſe (at leaſt in ſome Countrys, and among ſome people) *in civilibus*, between man and man.

To conclude this verſe then, we have here the Apoſtles Argument (both for the Mans being uncovered, and the VVomans being covered; for what proves one, proves both) from the Creation in General. The Man is the Image and Glory of God, the VVoman the Image and Glory of the Man; therefore this difference in external habit or attire, ought to be obſerved, when they appear before their Maker to worſhip him.

Ob. Yet once more; VVas not the VVoman made in the Image of God, as well as the Man?

Anſ. Yes, as to the internal Qualities of her ſoul, as Knowledge, Righteouſneſs and Holineſs, but with this difference;

1. The Man is thus formed of God immediately, the VVoman mediately of the Man; and therefore may truly be called the Image of the Man.

2. The Man is the more principal and perfect Image of God; on which account the VVoman is called *the weaker Veſſel.*

3. And which is moſt to the purpoſe. The Man was made in the Image of Gods Superintendency and Dominion; but ſo was not the VVoman. Tis true, ſhe ſhares in the Dominion over the Creatures, but it is with, and by, and under the Man. VVherefore God having committed this Authority unto the Man, and appointed him the ſign and token of it, he ought to defend it; nor may he reſign it to any other, till by Death he reſign up ſoul and all to him that gave it; and to do otherwiſe, is Treaſon againſt the King of Heaven. The further proſecution

Vir operiens caput, non ſeipſum modo, ſed etiam Deum dedecorat. Synop. in loc.

cution of this Argument *a creatione* follows, in the next verſes. Hence I infer,

Inf. 1. That God hath given the Man Power and Authority over the Woman, which he ought prudently and faithfully to preſerve.

2. That the ſubjection and obedience of the Woman to the Man, is the Mans natural Right and Glory, and the loſs of it his ſhame.

Inf. 3. That the reaſon of the Mans being uncovered, and of the Womans being covered in ſacred actions, is founded on that order of Superiority and inferiority, which God hath by Creation eſtabliſh'd in them.

Inf. 4. That for men to violate the Law of their Creation, is a diſhonour to their Creator.

Ver. 8. *For the Man is not of the Woman; but the Woman of the Man.*

In this he purſues and amplifies his former Argument from the Order and Law of the Creation. Firſt the Man, then the Woman; and of the Man was the Woman. So that here are two things to prove the ſuperiority of the Man, and the ſubjection of the Woman. 1. The priority of Creation; He was her Senior in the world, and therefore ought to bear rule over her. 2. The fundamentality of her being, was in the Man; and that both as to *matter* and ſubſtantial *form*. The Woman is of the Man. The whole humane nature was created in Man, and did exiſt in him without the Woman, and before ſhe was. Of this living Man, God takes a living part, and forms the living Woman. All that Parents conveigh in the act of Generation (*viz.* Matter and Form) to their Children, did God ſeparate (though in another and miraculous manner) from the Man, to form the Woman of. It is not neceſſary here to meddle with that Controverſy concerning the original of the rational Soul; whether it be propagated as the ſouls of other *Animals* are, or immediately created; or whether it be in a middle way between both, or partaking of both, as ſome will have it. This is enough to move the Apoſtles aſſumption, That the Man being firſt created, and of him the Woman; therefore he ought to have the preheminence. Hence I infer,

Inf. 1.

Inf. 1. That priority of being is a natural priviledge, which claims Reverence and Reſpect.

Inf. 2. That to whom we any way owe our Beings, we owe our Obedience.

Ver. 9. *Neither was the Man created for the Woman, but the Woman for the Man.*

Here he carrys on his Amplification from the end of the Creation. 'Twas for the Mans ſake that the Woman had her Being, that ſhe might be *a help meet for him*; but that which is the end, whereunto the means is appointed, is more excellent than the means; therefore ſo is the Man more excellent, and ought always to be acknowledged a ſuperiour to the Woman. Thus he reaſons both from the order and the end of the Creation, That the Woman ought to be covered in the worſhip of God, and the Man to be uncovered; for that's the Propoſition he is ſtill proſecuting. And hitherto he hath managed his Argument from the firſt inſtitution of things, which is the ſame Method he takes again in this Chap. where he reproves them for their prophane abuſe of the Lords Supper, from verſ. 18. to the end; where after he had laid open their ſin, he labours to ſet them right, by reducing them to the firſt Inſtitution of it, ver. 23. So you ſee he hath done here; when he would reconcileate that Reverence and Honour to the Worſhip of God, and that decency and order among the Worſhippers, which began to be violated, he pleads with them from the firſt Inſtitutions of the God of Nature. Hence I infer.

Inf. 1. That the Woman, that is not according to her place and condition in the World, uſeful unto Man, doth not anſwer the end of her Creation.

Inf. 2. That for the Woman to exerciſe Authority or Dominion over the Man, is wickedly to rebel againſt the Laws of her Maker; and to pervert the very end and deſign of her Being.

If any peeviſh *Frop* ſhould be ready now to cry Treaſon, Treaſon; as if I had denied unto Queens and Princeſſes in Kingdoms or Common-wealths, or unto Miſtreſſes in Families, any of their juſt right of *Royal* or *Deſpotical* Rule and Government over their Subjects and Servants: I ſhall ſtop his mouth with this; That he underſtands not the Queſtion. Where the Providence of God caſts the right of Civil or Domeſtick Govern-

ment

ment upon the hands of a Woman, as often it doth, ſhe not only may, but ought to manage that Authority and Truſt, according to her place and capacity, as amply and as freely, as if it were in the hands of a man. For ſhe doth not thus rule by the virtue of her Sex, but by virtue of that power, which by the wheel of Gods Providence, is lawfully and juſtly come into her hands; not as ſhe is a Woman, but as ſhe now ſtands in the place of a Man, to thoſe that are under her; or as ſhe is impowered and allowed by the Man, under whom ſhe is ſo to do. But a few words are enough for ſo trifling an Objection.

Ver. 10. *For this cauſe ought the Woman to have power on her head, becauſe of the Angels.*

This verſe may look either forward or backward, or (*Janus*-like) both ways. *For this cauſe*, that is, either the cauſe now already aſſigned; and ſo it is but the Concluſion of his former Argument, and belongs to it: or *for this cauſe*, which now follows; and ſo it is but his tranſition to another *medium* for the proof of the ſame thing. *Ought the Woman to have power on her head*; ὀφείλει *debet*, the ſame which was ſaid before, *ver.* 7. concerning the *Man*; and which makes it to be duty. *So ought*: therefore if ſhe do otherwiſe, ſhe ſins. *To have power on her head.* To obtain the true ſenſe of this Phraſe, we muſt examine theſe two words, *Power* and *Head*. *Power*, this may be taken figuratively or properly; *figuratively* by a *Metonymy*, for the ſign of Power, not her own; but that power, which the Man hath over her. This figure is common in Scripture, *Ezek.* 7. 27. *The Princes ſhall be cloathed with deſolation*, i. e. with Sackcloth, the badg and token of Deſolation. So here the power, that is, the veil or covering, the token of the Mans Power, and of her Subjection. Beſides, it is obſerved, that the word which the Hebrews uſe for a veil, רדיד *Cant.* 5. 7. and *Iſa.* 3. 23. ſprings from a root that ſignifies to have Power and Authority; on which account, ſome tranſlated ἐξουσία in the Text, not *power*, but a *veil*; as alſo in ſome Verſions it is found. Or elſe *Power* may be taken *properly* and without a figure; but then it muſt be *paſſively*, not that Power which ſhe exerciſeth; but the power which ſhe is under. *Her head.* this alſo we may take either with a figure, or without. With a figure, and ſo her head is the Man, as *ver.* 3. and then the ſenſe

is

is thus. She ought to have, that is, acknowledge, that the power of ruling and governing her, is in the Man. Or without a figure, her own proper head; and then the *Power* muſt be taken for the covering or ſign of that power, under which ſhe is. So that when all is done, the ſenſe is the ſame; *viz.* ſhe ought to acknowledge the Man's Power or Dominion, under which God hath ſet her; and in token of it, to have her head covered. *Becauſe of the Angels.* Here we have another *Medium* to prove his Aſſertion by. But before we improve it Argumentatively, we muſt firſt explain it. And a great pother is made by Expoſitors, what we were beſt to underſtand by the Angels here. Some will have it *literally*, and others will caſt a *figure* for it. Of thoſe that will have it *literally*, ſome are for the good Angels, others for the bad; thoſe that are for the good Angels, think the Apoſtle argues thus, *Vid. Synopſ. in loc.*

1. Thoſe bleſſed Angels are our *Superiors*, both by the order of their Creation, and the Superexcellency of their Nature; therefore both man and Chriſt too, as Man, is ſaid to be *made a little lower than the Angels*, Heb. 2. 7, and 9. ſo that, if the Argument of Priority and Superiority, hold good with reference to the Man, as he had reaſoned before; the ſame Argument is good ſtill, to prove the ſame Reverence to be due, in reſpect of the Angels, and that both from the Man, and from the Woman; becauſe the Angels are before and ſuperior to them both, though not with the ſame external ſign or token of the Reverence; God having made the token of Mans Reverence, the uncovering of the head (for this uncovering of the head, is not only a token of his power over his Inferior, but of his Subjection to his Superior) and the covering of the head, the token of the Womans Reverence, as was ſaid before.

Ob. But is not this to patronize an ἀγγελοθρησκία, worſhipping of Angels?

Anſ. No more than the other did patronize an ἀνδροθρησκία, or worſhipping of the Man. A civil Reverence and Homage is due to Creatures, which are our Superiors, at all times; nor ought to be neglected, when we come before God in ſacred things. Though God be the alone Object of religious Worſhip and Adoration, yet we muſt not be rude and barbarous towards others; this would reflect diſhonour upon God himſelf; for Superiority and Authority is a Ray of the Divine Majeſty, ſhining in the Creature;

Creature; and therefore on this account ought to be acknowledged by us.

2. These blessed Angels are our *Inspectors*, especially in the actions of Divine Worship; they are present, as Witnesses to take notice of the Disorders and Indecencies of the Worshippers, as well as to guard and defend them in their Worship. And this, they say, was one signification of the *Cherubim-work* in the Temple; so the Argument runs thus. If the Woman ought to be covered, to testifie her Reverence and Subjection to the Man, much more ought she to have regard to the holy Angels, who are always present in the Assemblies of the Saints, and ought to be had in Reverence, both for their own glory, and as they are appointed of God to this Office, and set as Inspectors or Overseers of his VVorship.

3. These blessed Angels are our Examples and Patterns, *Isa.* 6. 2. The Seraphims were represented in the vision of the Lord with six wings; with two of which they covered their faces, in Testimony of their Reverence and Subjection to their Lord. But what that this was for our Example any otherwise than in general to give our Superiors, and especially to God, that Honour and Reverence that is due, I think will be somewhat hard to prove.

Those that will have it to be the bad Angels, sense it thus: When the Sons of God come to present themselves before the Lord, Satan, by his evil Angels, is wont to come among them, *Job* 1. 6. who is alway prompting to evil, and taking all occasions to that end; therefore the Women ought to be veil'd, that they may not by their open beauty, be occasions of lust, or of wanton glances, from those whose *eyes are μεστὺς μοιχάλιδος, full of adultery*, or of the Adulteress; and so, as it were turn the house of God into a Brothel-house. 'Tis true, 'tis an horible, heathenish, shameful wickedness for any Woman to attire her self so, in any respect, either by covering or uncovering, as that she may minister fuel to the Lusts of others, and a Demonstration it is of a Woman that values not the Reputation of her modesty. I would there were not too much of this, even among some of the Professors of this wanton, lascivious Age. I do not censure every thing that may accidentally feed lust in others; for where lust reigns, it will take occasion, where there is no just occasion given; but that which doth properly give occasion to lustful thoughts

thoughts or motions, and may be prevented. But that the Apoſtle ſhould intend this ſort of Angels here, ſeems not very probable; becauſe then, it's likely, he would have called them Devils or evil Angels, as they are always called by ſome ſuch name, when they are ſpoken of in Scripture, as Inſtruments of evil.

Thoſe that will rather take the word *figuratively*, refer it either to Men, or to God himſelf.

1. To *Men*, ſo indeed we find the word often uſed for the Prieſts and Prophets of the Lord, the Governours of the Church, and Preachers of the Goſpel, *Mal.* 2. 7. *The Prieſts lips ſhould preſerve knowledge, for he is the Meſſenger* (or the Angel) *of the Lord of Hoſts.* So Chap. 3. 1. *John the Baptiſt* is called the Meſſenger, or the Angel (for it is the ſame word) ſent to prepare the way of the Lord. And Chriſt himſelf, the Meſſenger, or Angel of the Covenant, *Eccleſ.* 5. 6. *Neither ſay thou before the Angel, that it was an error*; that is, before the *Prieſt*, who is to take cognizance of thy vows. So *Rev.* 2. and 3. the Miniſters and Governours of the ſeven Churches of *Aſia*, are called the Angels of thoſe Churches: and then the Argument will run thus. If the Woman be bound to pay her Reverence to the Man in general, much more to thoſe men whom God hath made chief in the Congregation, and ſet, as it were in his ſtead, to repreſent him as his Ambaſſadors to the Churches.

2. Some refer it more immediately to God himſelf, thus; God himſelf is preſent in the Aſſemblies of his Saints, inſtructing, convincing, converting, comforting, aſſiſting, protecting, *&c.* by the intermediation and miniſtration of his bleſſed Angels. For all Gods works *ad extra*, both in the Church, and out of the Church, are done by their Miniſtry. *The Law was given by the diſpoſition of Angels*, Act. 7. 53. And ſo the Goſpel, which is called the *Promiſe*, *was ordained by Angels in the hand of the Mediator*, *Gal.* 3. 19. Therefore the name of God, and the name of Angels, is often uſed promiſcuouſly in Scripture, for one another, *Act.* 7. 35. It is ſaid, *The Angel appeared to Moſes in the Buſh*; but *Exod.* 3. 6. ſays, it was God, that is God by his holy Angel. So it was the Angel that appeared to *Manoah* and his Wife, *Judg.* 13. 2. which is underſtood to be the Lord himſelf, that is, by his Angel, *ver.* 22. Now according to this ſenſe the Apoſtle argues thus: If the Woman ought to behave her ſelf

with all due Reverence to be covered, in token of her Subjection to a mortal Superior, how much more ought ſhe to reverence the glorious preſence of the holy God, who by his bleſſed Angels is always in the midſt of the Congregation of his people? Or thus: The holy God, who is always preſent in the Aſſemblies of his people by his Angels, will be offended to ſee the Woman with her head uncovered, or the Man with his head covered; (for both theſe ſtand together under the ſame Condemnation, though only one of them be here expreſſed) but the holy God cannot be offended with any thing, but with ſin. *Erg.* for the Man ſo to be covered, or the Woman uncovered, is ſin. This Argument lies ſo clear in the Text, that I think I need not beſtow any labour on *Major* or *Minor*, to rub them any brighter. Hence I infer,

Inf. 1. That God by his holy Angels, is inviſibly preſent in the Aſſemblies of his Worſhippers.

Inf. 2. That external, as well as internal Reverence, is due to the worſhip of God, on the account of the holy Angels.

Ver. 11, 12. *Neverthelеſs, neither is the Man without the Woman, neither the Woman without the Man in the Lord. For as the Woman is of the Man, even ſo is the Man alſo by the Woman; but all things of God.*

In theſe two verſes he improves his former diſcourſe, by way of Counſel and Comfort. Of Counſel to the Man, That he remember the need he hath of the Woman. Though God hath made him her Superior, yet not to Lord it with rigour over her, but to exerciſe his Authority with humility and love. Of Counſel and Comfort to the Woman, that ſhe do not grudg at that inferiority of place in which God hath ſet her: and for her Comfort minds her, That God hath not put her altogether in the condition of a ſervant to the Man, but ſo as in the ſame reſpect ſhe is equal with him, at leaſt in the Lord, and in the matters of her Soul. *Neverthelеſs*: whatever I have ſaid of the Mans Authority, and the Womans Subjection, *Neither is the Man without the Woman, neither the Woman without the Man.* Though God hath ſubordinated one to the other, he hath not divided them one from the other; though one be above the other, yet one cannot ſubſiſt well without the other; though there be a difference of Sex, and a difference of place and degree, yet are they conjoyn'd as one in the Lord; they are equal in Chriſt, as joynt-members

of

of his myſtical body. The Woman as much as the Man, redeemed by the ſame blood, ſaved on the ſame terms, and their ſouls of the ſame precioufneſs. They are not without one another, but are joyned together as one fleſh, *in the Lord*, or by the Lord; not only by the Law of Faith, but by the Law of the Creation. They neceſſarily depend one upon the other. If either of the Sexes ſhould periſh, the other muſt periſh too, and cannot long ſurvive. *For as the Woman is of the Man*: that is, as to her firſt Original, as was ſaid before, *ver.* 8. *even ſo is the Man alſo by the Woman. Not* as it was with *Adam*, who had his being by immediate Creation; but men now are continued in the World by natural generation, which cannot be without the Woman. Though the Man were at firſt the ſole Parent, or inſtead of Parent to the Woman, yet now the Woman is half-parent to the Man. The Man is by the Woman, both as to his being, nutrition, education and well-being. *But all things of God.* That is, all theſe things, both the Man and his Superiority, and the Woman and her Subjection. They are Creatures of his forming, and of his diſpoſing; 'tis God that hath placed them in this order. And of this, he admoniſhes them, That the Man may not exalt himſelf, or deſpiſe the Woman, or turn his power into tyranny; and that the Woman may not diſdain to bear the yoke, which her Creator hath laid upon her; for in ſo doing they would both rebel againſt their Maker. Hence I infer,

Inf. 1. That Man and Woman are all one in the Lord.

Inf. 2. That the Superintendency or power of the Man over the Woman, is of Divine Right.

Inf. 3. That the yoke which we lay on Inferiors, ſhould be no heavier than God and Nature have made it.

Inf. 4. That in preſſing fleſh-diſpleaſing Duties on others, we ſhould mitigate the rigor with all the ſweetning Conſiderations we can.

Ver. 13. *Judge in your ſelves, is it comely that a Woman pray unto God uncovered?*

Or (which is all one) *That a Man pray unto God covered?* and if not pray, then not prophecy; for the reaſon is the ſame in both; as *ver.* 4, 5. Here is another Argument taken from the common ſenſe of all men, at leaſt of ſuch as are ſo far re-

deem'd from the ruines and dregs of the moſt ſalvage barbariſm, as to have any natural ſentiments of what is comely or uncomely. *Judge in your ſelves.* Here his Rhetorick and his Logick meet together, both to convince and perſwade. He will force them to yield the Argument, or forfeit their Judgment and Reaſon. *Is it comely*: πρέπον ἐστί, is it a handſom ſight, is it becoming the excellent Majeſty of that God, with whom we have to do? Is it not piece of ſhameful, irreligious, daring irreverence, *That a Woman pray unto God uncovered*? Though only praying be mentioned, propheſying alſo is included; that is, That a Woman be preſent in the Congregation, where theſe ſacred actions are in performing.

Ob. But if he intends both, why doth he mention only the Womans part?

Anſ. 1. Becauſe the Mans part is neceſſarily underſtood, and concluded from it.

2. He chuſeth this (perhaps) to the greater advantage of his Argument. The foulneſs of a ſin is not ſometimes ſo apparently ſeen on one ſide, as on the other; nor in it ſelf, as in the natural conſequences of it. His Argument then will be reduc'd to this, That which is uncomely, diſorderly or irreverent, ought not to be admitted, or tolerated in the worſhip of God; but for a Man to worſhip God in the Congregation with his head covered, or a Woman with her head uncovered, are both alike uncomely, diſorderly, and irreverent. *Erg.*

Ob. But you may ſay, this is a dangerous Argument, till it be agreed by what Judge or Rule it ought to be determined, what is comely or decent in the Worſhip of God.

Anſ. That which is now ſtarted, is one of the Games of the times; I ſhall not purſue it at length, nor do I hope to add any thing to what hath been, by one and another already better done on the caſe. All that I ſhall ſay at preſent to it, I ſhall reduce to theſe three poſitions.

1. Should every thing paſs for decent and comely, that any one phanſies or judges ſo to be, there would certainly be very few or no indecencies, or matters of uncomelineſs, found among men; for every ones own ways and conceits (though never ſo ugly) are right and beautiful in their own eyes; and ſo the foulleſt abſurdities, and groſſeſt fooleries, yea, and impieties too, muſt paſs for decent and lovely, becauſe there is ſome or other that will have it ſo.

2. Every

2. Every thing that is decent and comely enough in it ſelf, and in its proper place, uſe and ſeaſon, is not ſo in the Worſhip of God; much leſs can that be comely in Gods Worſhip, which is no where elſe comely. The firſt part of this poſition, I think no one will deny. It is decent enough for a man to whiſtle after his Cart, or to lift up a ſhout in harveſt, or to ſtrip himſelf naked to ſwim; but that any of theſe, or the like, are decent in the Worſhip of God, no ſober man can think. The other part of the poſition is but the neceſſary conſequence of this. That which is every where ugly, is much more ſo in Gods Worſhip, where the greateſt Reverence and Decency is required. 'Tis true, thoſe things which God hath particularly appropriated to his Worſhip, may not be prophaned by a common uſe; though we may not ſay, ſuch things are ugly out of Gods Worſhip, yet the prophanation of them is ugly, becauſe ſinful; but whatever God hath appointed, is therefore decent becauſe he hath appointed it. This is the Apoſtle's Argument here; for the Woman to be uncovered or attire her head like the Man, or for the Man to be covered, or put on the Knots and Treſſes of the Woman, as if they were agreed to exchange Sexes, is a moſt uncomely thing in Nature; therefore much more in the ſolemn Worſhip of God.

3. There is none that can make any thing comely or decent in the Worſhip of God, but God himſelf who requires the Worſhip. For whatſoever is comely in Gods Worſhip, is ſo, as he approves or accepts it; what he rejects cannot be accounted comely in his Worſhip; but what he hath not appointed, he rejects. And to prove this, we can have no better evidence, than his own words, wherein he declares what he approves, and what he rejects, *Matth.* 15. 9. *In vain do they worſhip me, teaching for doctrine the Commandments of men.* That which hath but Mans Authority in Gods Worſhip, is a vanity; *Jer.* 7. 31. *And they have built the high places of Tophet, which is in the valley of the Son of Hinnom, to burn their Sons and their Daughters in the fire, which I commanded them not, neither came it into my heart.* The only reaſon that is mentioned here of Gods Indignation againſt this thing, is, that he had not commanded it, *Hoſ.* 5. 11. *Ephraim is oppreſſed and broken in judgment, becauſe he willingly walked after the commandment.* And what Commandment was this? Be ſure 'twas none of Gods; then they would not ſo willingly have walked after it; nor would God have been offended at their walking ſo.

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it muſt needs be ſome commandment of men. Moſt Interpreters underſtand it of the Commandment of *Jeroboams*, who made *Iſrael* to ſin by his own idolatrous Inventions and Additions to the Worſhip of God; yet doubtleſs the Inventer and Impoſer thought theſe things to be decent and comely; and ſo it ſeems did the people too; but God thought them not ſo, they were no Commandments of his. Now God hath commanded all the matters of his worſhip, and conſequently all that is to be accounted decent or comely in it, one of theſe two ways, *Expreſly*, or *Conſequentially*.

1. *Expreſly*, but theſe are not the things in diſpute at preſent; though they are not wanting that dare wreſt and diſpute againſt ſome of the plaineſt expreſſions of his will.

2. *Conſequentially* or *Collaterally*; ſo all thoſe Circumſtances of worſhip are commanded, which are neceſſary to the orderly, ſerious, reverent and moſt edifying performance of it; yet this neceſſarineſs or expediency is not left to the Arbitration of man, but muſt be determined *pro hic & nunc*, by the nature of the things, and the preſent diſpenſation of Providence, and the general experience of the moſt ſpiritual and beſt diſcerning Chriſtians. That which the worſhip of God, or any part of it may be decently, orderly, ſpiritually and edifyingly performed without, is not neceſſary in that worſhip, or part of worſhip; and if not commanded, then ſuperſtitious and ſinful. And ſo far for this Digreſſion. Hence I infer,

Inf. 1. That the pure ſpiritual ſimplicity of Goſpel-worſhip, allows no external uncomelineſs or irreverence in it.

Inf. 2. That what the common ſuffrage of men determines to be uncomely in nature, or in civil Converſation, is much more ſo in the worſhip of God.

Inf. 3. That it is the duty of Women to pray unto God, as well as of Men.

Ver. 14, 15. *Doth not even nature it ſelf teach you, that if a Man hath long hair, it is a ſhame unto him? But if a Woman have long hair, it is a glory to her; for her hair is given her for a covering.*

This is but the illuſtration of the Argument of the former verſe, and not the ſtating of a new Queſtion, as ſome may opine.

'Tis

'Tis ſtrange to ſee what a coyle is kept among Interpreters about the ſenſe of this Paragraph, as if they had a mind *ex fulgore dare fumum*, to *veil* not only the *Womans*, but the *Text* it ſelf, or as if they had a humour to trip and wreſtle, rather than to follow the *Ball*. I ſhall take little notice of one or other, but paſs through the Croud as quietly as I may, about my buſineſs. And to make my way clear, theſe three terms of the Text muſt be explained. 1. What the Apoſtle means by *Nature*. 2. What by *having long hair*. 3. What by *ſhame*.

1. The firſt Queſtion is, what the Apoſtle would have us to underſtand by *Nature*. Some ſay the Law of Nature, others, the Law of Nations; others, the light of natural Reaſon; others, general and ancient Cuſtom; others the natural inclination; others, the Sex it ſelf, Male and Female, into which nature hath divided mankind. Others take it for that order which God hath appointed and found in Nature. Now if we would know whether of all theſe to chuſe, and how to make a right Judgment, we muſt attend to the ſcope of the Apoſtles Diſcourſe. He hath been all along proving that this difference of habit is founded *ab origine*, in the difference of Sex, by the God of Nature, and ſo by him made one of the Laws and Conſtitutions of Nature, for the diſtinguiſhing of one Sex from the other, that there might not be confuſion, and for the teſtifying of that place of Superiority or Inferiority which they ſtand in toward one another. It is Nature, or rather the God of Nature, that gives the Woman her hair for her natural covering, and the ſame nature it is that teaches us ſo to judge in this caſe.

2. The next Query is, What we ought to underſtand by having long hair, κομᾶν. And here we ſhall find them as little agreed, as in the other. Some take it for wearing the hair long; and of theſe, one will have it clipt all off cloſe by the head; another will have it juſt to cover the ears; another more adviſedly allows it to cover the temples and the neck; others are for a greater length, *uſque ad habitum*, but underſtand it of decking and adorning the hair, and never quarrel at the length, ſo that it be worn careleſly and ſlovenly; and that which proſelyted them to this opinion, was the derivation of the word κόμη, which, they ſay, comes from the Verb κομᾶν, *curare* to trim or trick up a thing with curioſity. Now for my part, I do not find that the Apoſtle tells us either here or any where elſe, what the ſtandard

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or juſt ſize for length, muſt be of the mans hair; (yet he might well conclude, that without an exact Rule to an hairs breadth; ſo many heads were never like to agree upon't) yet I think the nearer it comes to the ordinary length of the Womans hair, the further it is from the Apoſtles Rule. Nor do I think (though our *Engliſh* word *Comb* be derived from the Greek κόμη) that the Apoſtle doth forbid any man to comb his head, nor to powder it neither, nor yet to put on borrowed hair, when the defects of nature make it neceſſary or expedient: for if all other parts of the body may lawfully aſſume ſomething of ornament, as well as bare covering, I know not why the head alone ſhould be neglected and devoted to a perpetual ſlovenlineſs; yet it is moſt certain, that as far as any adorning of the head, or any other part whether of Man or Woman, ſavours of Pride, or fantaſtical effeminacy, it is ſinful and ſhameful. The ſcope makes the ſenſe plain enough. The Apoſtle doth all along oppoſe the attire of the Man to that of the Woman, particularly as to their heads, which ought not to be the ſame, nor yet chang'd, either as to the natural or artificial covering; as the Man ought not to cover his head with the artificial or aſſumed attire, after the manner of the Women, ſo neither with the natural.

3. The other Queſtion is, What we are to underſtand by ſhame, ἀτιμία? In this Interpreters cannot be of a mind neither. Some will have it be ſuch a ſhame, as is without ſin, or ſuch a diſgrace as proceeds from a Mans neglect of himſelf in indifferent and trivial matters; a ſhame which hath not its foundation ſo much in the thing it ſelf, as in the opinion of thoſe that judge it to be ſhame, as was the caſe of *Davids* Meſſengers to *Hanun*, 2 Sam. 10. 4, 5. when *Hanun* had cauſed their beards to be ſo miſuſed. But this (I doubt) is to make too light a matter of it. That which is a ſhame to Nature, which is contrary to the τὸ πρέπον of a Chriſtian, muſt needs be ſin, and no ſmall ſin, eſpecially in the worſhip of God. Therefore ſome make this to be of the ſame nature with thoſe ſins of the Gentiles mentioned *Rom.* 1. 26, 27. a changing of the natural uſe of one Sex with the other.

Ob. But if the wearing of long hair be a ſin againſt the light and dictates of Nature, this will condemn the *Nazarites*, of whom Chriſt himſelf was one, who were not only allowed, but required by the Law of God, to let the locks of the hair of their heads grow all the days of their Separation, *Numb.* 6. 5. And of this

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ſort of *Votaries*, ſome were *Nazaræi ſeculi* for the whole term of their lives, as *Sampſon*, *John* the Baptiſt and *Chriſt*; and others *Nazaræi dierum*, who ſeparated themſelves by a vow unto the Lord for a certain number of days, commonly thirty days.

Anſ. 1. This was by divine appointment; and who queſtions, but that the great Lord and Law-giver may diſpence with his own Laws, and make what particular exceptions he pleaſes, without aboliſhing, or any way infringing the binding force of his Law to others.

2. Yet we do not ſay, That it is ſimply long hair the Apoſtle is here declaiming againſt, but the wearing it *more muliebri*, after the manner of the Woman. And yet I am of the opinion, that the *Nazarites* themſelves were good enough to be known from the Women by the wear of their locks, as well as by other things. Should I enter into a prolix diſcourſe of long hair, I might ſpend more time than the Argument is worth; and beſides, out-run the intent of my Text, which mentions it only by the by.

But if the Woman have long hair, it is a glory to her. That which is a ſhame to the one (you ſee) is a glory, a lawful, decent, laudible ornament to the other; and the Reaſon follows, *for her hair is given her for a covering.* And who gave it her for a covering, but he that gave her her hair and her being too? 'Tis true, he that gave hair to the Woman, gave the like to the Man; but not to this end, or for this uſe; Not that this covering is enough for the Woman (though it had been enough to anſwer its end, as a ſymbole of her ſubjection to the Man, had ſhe abode in innocency) but this ſhews that her head ought to be covered proportionably, as all her other parts are, and the head eſpecially; becauſe nature it ſelf intimates it, and thereby teaches it. But now to reduce this to the Argument in the former verſe, where he was reaſoning *ab indecoro*. *Judge in your ſelves, is it comely?* The aſſumption he proves in theſe two verſes, by the indications of Nature, *q. d.* the very works of God in nature are ſufficient to convince us, that the Woman ought to be covered; and then by the ſame reaſon and rule of oppoſition, that the Man ought to be uncovered, at leaſt in the ſolemn publick worſhip of God. Hence I infer,

Inf. 1. That Chriſtians ought not to diſregard the moral dictates and indications of nature.

Inf. 2. That it is a ſhameful, unnatural thing, for men to pride themſelves, or to glory in the curioſities of hair, after the manner of Women.

Inf. 3. That length of hair is given of God unto the Woman, not only for her covering, but for her ornament, though not for pride or levity.

Inf. 4. That for men and Women mutually to interchange modes and faſhions in wearing their hair, is unnatural and abominable.

Ver. 16. *But if any man ſeem to be contentious, we have no ſuch cuſtom, neither the Churches of God.*

We are now arrived to the concluſion of this Diſſertation of the Apoſtle, where, for a cloſe, we meet with three well accoutr'd Arguments more in a breaſt; *But if any man ſeem to be contentious.* Thus he ſpeaks by way of Anticipation, if any one hath a mind to quarrel, φιλόνικος εἶναι to maintain his contrary opinion; not for truths ſake, but for ſatisfying of his ill humour, that he may ſeem to prevail by his Sophiſms and Fallacies, and will not acquieſce in theſe our Arguments and Determinations, as every one will do that is not of a contentious ſchiſmatical Spirit. Here we have one Argument more inſinuated, which may be formed thus: To diſpute againſt a clear truth, or plain duty, is the property of a contentious, wrangling perſon; but to diſpute againſt what hath been here aſſerted and prov'd, is to diſpute againſt a clear truth and a plain duty. *Erg. We have no ſuch Cuſtom.* What Cuſtom? Some will tell you, No cuſtom to be contentious, or to inſiſt peremptorily or ſtifly upon frivolous matters. I believe it, this were indeed a great ſhame for an Apoſtle, a Planter and Pillar of the Churches, to be once guilty of it; much more to make a Cuſtom or Trade of it. But what is this to his purpoſe? Can we imagine that he would tell them thus, Well! notwithſtanding all the *Mediums* I have uſed, and all the words I have waſted, to prove my Argument, 'tis but a frivolus thing; if any one ſeems he hath any thing to object, I have done; 'tis a buſineſs that is not worth the arguing; any one may do as he ſeems beſt, whatever I have ſaid to the contrary. Certainly, if this had been his mind, he had done much better, both for the Churches peace, and his own credit, to have took his pen and ſcratcht it all out again,

again, and not to have troubled the ſacred Canon with ſo trifling a matter. But when he ſays we have no ſuch cuſtome; I think he tells them quite another thing. He here informs them what the Cuſtom and Practice of the Apoſtles was in the caſe, whereof he had been ſpeaking; and aſſures them, that he had herein laid no other burden upon them, than he himſelf, and all the reſt of his Brethren the Apoſtles, had always born, and took to be their duty; ſo that here in the cloſe of his diſcourſe, he ſeems to look back on the firſt verſe, where he began it, and ſo to knit up both ends together. *Be ye followers of me*: And then the ſecond Argument you have thus: It is the duty of all Chriſtians to follow the examples and practice of the Apoſtles in all things that are according to the will of God; but this was the practice of the Apoſtles, and according to the will of God, as was proved before; *Erg. Neither the Churches of God.* That is, the primitive Goſpel-Churches planted by the Apoſtles. where we have the third Argument thus: That which was the general practice of the primitive Churches of Chriſt, by Apoſtolical inſtitution, ought to be the practice of all ſucceeding Churches; But this was the general practice of the primitive Churches, and that by Apoſtolical inſtitution. *Erg.* And now you have heard the Apoſtles ſenſe of the Queſtion, and our ſenſe of the Apoſtle: whence I conclude at once, That for a Man to have his head covered, or a Woman to have her head uncovered in the time and place of Gods ſolemn publick Worſhip, is a diſorderly, irreverent, uncomely, unnatural, ſhameful, ſchiſmatical, antiapoſtolical and unchriſtian-like practice. And thus much by way of Expoſition, wherein I hope I have not run beyond my Text.

CHAP. III.

Anſwers a few Objections and Scruples upon the caſe.

NOtwithſtanding what hath been hitherto ſaid, perhaps ſome may ſeem to be contentious in our times, as well as in the Apoſtles; which I ſhall anſwer as I am able. And truly I wiſh, I had now before me, all that the Art of Contention could

produce againſt our Theſis. But before we meddle with the Objections, we will conſider how far all, or moſt are agreed upon the matter.

1. Then I ſuppoſe that all, with whom I have to do, are agreed, That there is a reverence of the body, as well as of the mind and ſoul, due to the Worſhip of God, on the account of that God whom we worſhip and adore. The body is the Lords as well as the Spirit, and by both he ought to be Worſhipped with thoſe explicite ſigns and demonſtrations of Reverence and Veneration, which are proper to both. *For ye are bought with a price, therefore glorifie God in your body, and in your Spirit, which are Gods*, 1 Cor. 6. 20. *O come let us worſhip and bow down, let us kneel before the Lord our Maker*, Pſal. 95. 6. The humbleſt and moſt abject poſtures, and ſelf-abaſing proſtrations of body, as well as of ſoul, a covering of the lip, a laying the mouth in the duſt, are all too little to expreſs the diſtance that is between the holy God and ſinful Man. Beſides, where there is the truth of that inward fear and Reverence that is due to God in the heart, it will naturally and neceſſarily ſeek to expreſs its ſelf externally in ſuch a way, and by ſuch ſigns, as are apt and proper to ſhadow it forth by. True Devotion is like fire, which cannot be ſhut up, but will diſcover it ſelf; but where there is no ſymptom of life in the exterior parts, we rationally conclude, that the ſpark of life is extinct at the heart.

2. I hope it will be granted me too, without much begging, that for the Woman to come into the Congregation of Gods Worſhippers, with her head uncovered, or attir'd after the manner of the Man, is a very uncomely and unchriſtian-like thing. I do not think that all Women are bound to uſe the ſame manner of covering. God hath allowed latitude enough in theſe things, if we have but Wiſdom and Moderation to avoid extreams on both hands, and to keep within the bounds of Decency and Modeſty, that it be not affectedly, auſtere, ſordid, or ridiculous on the one ſide, or to virile, extravagant, or meretricious on the other; obſerving the Apoſtles rule, 1 *Pet.* 3. 3. *Whoſe adorning let it not be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of Apparel.* Not that any of theſe are in themſelves evil, or the uſe of them ſimply forbidden, but the exceſs; the fond affecting of theſe toys, the exceeding of their

their due measures and degrees of persons, the spending of too much time, cost or care on them; or the feeding of pride or lust by them, this is morally evil.

3. And I presume upon the observation of all that I have had to do with, that it will not be denied, that in praying and in singing of Psalms, the Man ought to have his head uncovered. I met with none that own these Ordinances, but are ready to own it to be their duty to be uncovered in them, and take it as a piece of prophane irreverence, and contempt of Gods Ordinance, to be otherwise. Though indeed there be some, who of late have learnt a new fashion of uncovering the head, by hanging their Hats half way on one side, or on their brows; these are uncovered by a *Synecdoche partis*, and shew their readiness to keep them quite on, if it were but the fashion; as if they were afraid of too much reverence, or of abasing themselves too much in the sight of God. Of whom this phantastical fashion was first learnt, I know not; yet thus much even these seem to grant by that little they do, that in these duties the head ought to be uncovered in whole, or in part.

And being thus far agreed, that which remains to be tried, is only this: Whether it be the duty of the Man to have his head uncovered, while the word of God is read or preached in the Congregation of his people? And having now brought it to the *Bar*, let us hear what its Accusers have to say.

Ob. 1. I hear some alledge thus; That it is in it self a matter of indifferency, and to be determined by the custome of those particular Churches or people, where any one hath his Conversation, and not to be positively asserted for a general duty.

Ans. 1. I confess, I never took it to be a fundamental of the Christian Religion, nor would I press it upon any Mans Conscience, upon pain of Damnation; yet that it is a matter of meer indifferency, I utterly deny; which if it be not already sufficiently prov'd, I hope it may by that time the trial is over.

2. This sounds like some poor *put-off*, of those that are conscious to their own guilt, and are loth to have their ill manners corrected; pray have us excus'd, thus and thus we have been us'd to do, and are asham'd now to do otherwise. 'Tis indeed a hard matter to teach an old *Trotter* to *pace*, or to obtain credit against a long used custom, though never so groundless or indecent.

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3. I would willingly learn what any ſober wit can gather out of the Apoſtles diſcourſe, to prove this to be a matter of ſuch indifferency, as that the cuſtoms of Churches or Places muſt determine it *pro* or *con*. We have obſerv'd that more than once he poſitively aſſerts it as a duty; *for a Man indeed ought not to cover his head*, ver. 7. *For this cauſe ought the Woman to have power on her head*, ver. 10. That which the Apoſtle ſays ought to be done, or ought not to be done, I dare not call indifferent. That which he ſays *ver.* 16. *We have no ſuch cuſtom, neither the Churches of God*; which is the only place where he mentions any thing of cuſtom, hath been expounded already, and cannot in reaſon be underſtood as if he had left it to be determined as to practice, by the cuſtoms of every particular Church or people; for then had he miſerably bafflʼd himſelf, and taught them to have replied thus: What means this great harangue about putting off, or keeping on our hats? We have a cuſtom among us to do as we do; and this by his own Doctrine, is ſufficient to juſtifie us; and what then is become of all the Apoſtles Argument? Certainly he doth not leave it to the cuſtoms of any particular Church, that then was, or that afterward ſhould be, but reduces all to that which was the cuſtome of the Apoſtolical and Primitive Churches.

Ob. 2. Others object, That the Reformed Churches in other Countrys obſerve no ſuch thing, but generally practice the contrary in their Aſſemblies; but if it were a duty, why ſhould not they practice it as well as we?

Anſ. 1. What other Churches do, I know not, but by hearſay; or how far they conform to the Apoſtles rule in this caſe, is impertinent to enquire. It may be they vary from us, and from their Rule too, both in matters of opinion and practice; and wherein they deſerve not to be commended, nor imitated; to their own Maſter let them ſtand or fall.

2. God never made the judgments or practices of men, the Rule or Directory of his Worſhip, but his written word. What wild work ſhould we ſoon make in the Worſhip of God, if our eyes ſhould be as the fools, in the ends of the earth, upon the faſhions of *France*, or *Geneva*, or *Holland*, or *New-England*, or any others? If we once forſake Scripture, and make men our Rule, we are in a fair way to Idolatry, to Atheiſm, to any thing. This is an objection which becomes no ſober Chriſtian. A few

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more words I ſhould beſtow on it, were it worth my while.

Ob. 3. Others are ready to plead thus; That it is but a bodily exerciſe, *and bodily exerciſe* they are told, *profiteth little*, 1 Tim. 4. 8. but God is a Spirit, and will be worſhipped in Spirit and in truth.

Anſ. 1. 'Tis true, tis a bodily exerciſe, and becauſe the Apoſtle ſays it profiteth πρὸς ὀλίγον a little, we may not ſay therefore it profiteth not at all; yea, in ſome caſes it profiteth very much.

2. 'Tis true too, that worſhip which conſiſts only in bodily exerciſe, profitteth ſo little, as not at all; it is a ſhadow without the ſubſtance, and a dead carkaſe without life; the badg of Formality, the cloak of Hypocriſy. But yet that bodily exerciſe which is joyned with the inward Spiritual Exerciſe, Veneration, Affection and ſincere Devotion of the ſoul, and is properly and aptly expreſſive of it, is both profitable and acceptable. The caſe is the ſame as that of St. *James*, between *Faith* and *Works*; either being alone is dead and unprofitable (that is, where both are requir'd) but in conjunction they are amiable and abſolutely neceſſary to the right performance of the duty.

3. If it be unneceſſary, becauſe a bodily exerciſe, then all bodily exerciſe muſt be condemn'd, by the ſame Law, as unneceſſary in the Worſhip of God. The giving of Alms, the viſiting the Sick, the going to hear, the uſing of the voice in Prayer, Preaching, Singing, Hearing, Reading, Conference, and the like; or the bowing the knee before God, and many other things, are all but bodily exerciſes; and if therefore unneceſſary, this will at once throw all the viſible worſhip of a Deity out of the world, and turn it into meer Atheiſm. But,

4. God hath required us to glorifie him with our bodies, as well as with our Spirits, 1 *Cor.* 6. 20. and on this account, becauſe both are Gods; both are his, and by both he will be worſhipped. Nay our bodies as well as our ſouls, are the members of Chriſt, *ver.* 15. and the Temple of the Holy Ghoſt, *ver.* 19. therefore it were very impious to deny him the Worſhip of both. But this is more than enough for ſo trifling an Objection.

Ob. 4. Others there be that will allow it to be neceſſary, by the Rules of Decency and Reverence, to be uncovered in prayer, and in ſinging, and perhaps in reading of the Scriptures too, but not in preaching: And their reaſon is, becauſe in preaching we have not

not the pure word of God, but mixt with mens own private opinions and improvements.

Anſ. 1. The truth is, I cannot but bluſh to look upon the wickedneſs of this Argument; and the more, that any men of ſobriety and learning ſhould own it. It's a ſign the cauſe is bad, when ſuch poor ſhifts are made to uphold it. But

2. As for the venting of mens private opinions in their preaching, I anſwer thus; 1. So they may, and often do in their praying too; and yet it ſeems the Argument will not be allowed in that Ordinance, though the reaſon of the Argument be the ſame. 2. Either thoſe private opinions which they vent are true or falſe; if they are true, then are they one where or other expreſly or conſequentially contain'd in the Scriptures, and ſo are a part of the ſenſe of Scripture, and the very mind and will of God; though it may be impertinently applied. If they be falſe, they ought to be reproved, and diſciplin'd according as ſuch errors do deſerve. But it is an hard caſe, if there be no other way to correct anothers impertinencies or extravagancies, but by our own irreverence and indecencies.

3. I would know what other reaſon can be given, why men ſhould be uncovered in time of praying or ſinging, &c. but this, becauſe it is the Ordinance of God, whoſe Worſhip we are bound to reverence both with body and ſoul. If this be not the reaſon, I would fain learn what it is. And if ſo, I would as willingly underſtand by what Rule in Divinity it is found, that preaching is not altogether as much Gods Ordinance, as praying, or ſinging, or any other. For my own part I ever took Preaching to be the great Ordinance of the Goſpel; for I never heard that Chriſt ſent forth his Apoſtles to ſing, or to pray; though theſe indeed be included as parts of his Worſhip, but always ſent expreſly to preach; the Denomination of their office being taken *a Majori*. Now if one Ordinance be to be reverenced, becauſe it is ſacredly inſtituted, ſhall onother which is more expreſly inſtituted, be prophaned as unholy? In prayer and ſinging, we ſpeak to God, or of God; in Preaching God ſpeaks to us: is there not as great a Reverence due, when God ſpeaks to us, as when we ſpeak to him? Shall I ſpeak to my Prince uncovered, but as ſoon as my tale is out, clap on my Hat while he ſpeaks to me, as if I owed the honour to my own words, not to his? Methinks the bare mention of ſuch unavoidable abſurdities, ſhould be enough

enough to make the frivilous Objectors bluſh.

4. It ſeems very ſtrange and audacious, that Preaching ſhould be excluded, while the Apoſtle himſelf hath expreſly joyn'd it with Praying; I wonder out of what arbitrary Court this Bill of divorce firſt iſſued, for the putting aſunder what God had joyned together; or how it came to paſs, that propheſying hath ſo forfeited its Honour! What hath Preaching done, that the *Greeks* ſcorn it, as fooliſhneſs and babling? The *Jews* look on it as a ſtumbling-block; and Chriſtians themſelves ſo degrade it and rob it of its due Reverence and reſpect? what hath preaching done to deſerve this? Why! it hath beaten down the ſtrong holds of the Devil in the World, and erected the Kingdom and Scepter of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and for this will the Devil be reveng'd on it, as he is able; becauſe he cannot baniſh it out of the World, he will pour what contempt he can upon it. But it is ſad, that ſuch as call themſelves Profeſſors, ſhould be his Inſtruments in ſo curſed a Deſign.

Ob. 5. Others, it ſeems, argue after this faſhion: This uncovering of the head in Divine Worſhip, is a thing that hath been ſo abus'd, and reſted in by a company of dead Formaliſts, and ſo zealouſly affected by ſuch as dote on fooliſh and ſuperſtitious Ceremonies, that to ſhew our diſlike of their ways, we think it expedient to act contrary to them in this thing alſo, and not to ſymbolize with their Superſtitions.

Anſ. Had I not heard it from ſome that pretended to ſobriety, I could not have expected ſuch an Objection from any but a madman. For,

1. By this Rule we muſt caſt off every thing that belongs to the external Worſhip of God; yea, and the Worſhip it ſelf too, becauſe it hath been abuſed by ſuch as are formal aud ſuperſtitious. To argue the unlawfulneſs or inexpediency of a thing, from the abuſe of it, would make mad work in the world; for what good thing is there, that hath not been by ſome or other abuſed?

2. As for ſuch things as are of our own device and appointment in the Worſhip of God, for the more orderly and profitable performance of it; if any thing of that nature, in length of time, come to be generally abuſed, and loſe their firſt end and uſe, and cannot be reſtored to their true intention and ſervice, it is expedient to lay them aſide, and to ſupply the defect

by that which is more proper to reach the good end; and by this meaſure all humane inſtitutions ought to be dealt with. But the matter in queſtion is no *Humane*, but a *Divine* inſtitution, and that *expreſs*; therefore he that will cut this off from the publick Worſhip of God, had need firſt to cut it out of his Bible.

3. To reſt in the bare external and outward Ceremonies of Worſhip, is groſs formality; and for a man to pray or prophecy with his head covered, is groſs irreverence; but what! is there no way to avoid one ſin but by another? muſt I needs run my ſelf into the guilt of irreverence, to eſcape the contagion of another's formality? This is the Devils work, to hurry men from one extream to another; and I doubt it proceeded from a ſecret Spirit of Faction, oppoſition, and diſcontent; or Church-Atheiſm, and not honeſt Zeal. What though ſome ceremonious *Bigots*, among many other things needleſs and vain, require alſo what God himſelf by his Apoſtles hath required; ſhall I rebel againſt God, to ſhew my diſlike of ſuperſtitious men? God forbid, I will rather bleſs God for any thing that is right in thoſe, that in other things I diſſent from.

Ob. 6. But there are yet others that think they have more to ſay than all this. Their bodily infirmities are ſuch as that they cannot bear it to be ſo long uncovered, without hazard of their health: But God will have mercy, and not ſacrifice.

Anſ. 1. It is true, God will have mercy and not Sacrifice, where he cannot have both; Mercy rather than Sacrifice; and if the caſe be ſo, that the health of the body cannot be preſerved without the covering of the head, I know no body that queſtions the lawfulneſs of covering it. But,

2. There is both a *Natural* and *Artificial* covering, which conſiſt with the Rules of Reverence and Decency. The *natural* covering is the hair. Now though the Apoſtle requires the uncovering of the head in Divine Worſhip, yet he allows the hair to be worn, though not after the manner of Women, as was ſhewed before. Therefore he doth not abſolutely forbid all covering, but only that which is inconſiſtent with that Reverence which we owe to him whom we pretend to honour; if then the infirmities of Nature be ſuch, as that this natural covering be not ſufficient to anſwer its end, God allows us to ſupply the defect by art, with ſuccedaneous coverings, as *Wigs* or *Caps*;

which

which may be in the ſtead of the natural, ſo that the phantaſtical exceſſes of Pride or Vanity be avoided. And that to have the head thus covered in caſe of Infirmity, is not inconſiſtent with Reverence, no one that is well in his wits can doubt; for it would ſeem an odd kind of Ceremony between man and man, if they ſhould pull off their *Hats*, and *Wiggs*, or *Caps*, and all, in complement to one another; this would be a quaint kind of Careſs. Now that which would be thought ſuperfluous, indecent, or ridiculous in humane Converſation, is no leſs in the Worſhip of God. There are ways enough to avoid irreverence in Gods Worſhip, without violating the ſixth Commendment, or any other Moral Precept.

Ob. 7. Others think to ſay ſomething in this, if this had been ſuch a Duty; wherefore have our Teachers been ſo long ſilent, Why had we not heard of this ſooner?

Anſ. 1. I wiſh that ſuch Objectors may not think it yet too ſoon to yield their Obedience to the truth. What hath been done ignorantly, may obtain mercy; but obſtinacy after admonition, makes the ſin double.

2. How came it to paſs, that this ſhould be a ſecret, ſince that God hath delivered you from the Tyranny of Antichriſt, and hath given you the free uſe of your Bibles, and in your own Mother-tongue; and the words of the Apoſtle being ſo plain and expreſs in the caſe?

3. The Reaſons why the Miniſters of Chriſt have ſaid ſo little of it, may, be 1. Becauſe in thoſe late days of Confuſion, they have had greater work on their hands, to fix and eſtabliſh the people in the fundamentals and eſſentials of Chriſtianity, for the preſervation of their Faith and Comfort, and to ſupport the main buildings, while the houſe of God hath been ſo ſhaken. 2. It may be many of them have been guilty of the ſame error, being carried away by the force of the Torrent, from one extream to another, upon that fall of Epiſcopal Ceremonies, which was in *England* almoſt forty years ago; ſince which time eſpecially, this piece of prophanity hath obtain'd the faſhion among Diſſenters. And perhaps the ſenſe of their own guilt hath made ſome the more ſlow to ſpeak in this matter.

4. The generality of Non-conforming, as well as Conforming Miniſters, have taught you, at leaſt by their examples, what their ſenſe of the Apoſtle hath been, and which the people ſhould

have obſerv'd, as their Patterns in it; yea, ſome have adventured to reprove it publickly too; though the capricious humours of the people have kickt at it; and ſuch as think themſelves wiſer than their Teachers, have made ill uſe of it, and been ready to ſhew what phantaſtical and ſchiſmatical Principles they are acted by. I know not at preſent what more hath been, or can be objected againſt our *Theſis*; and how little theſe objections ſignifie, I leave to the judgment of all ſober minds.

CHAP. IV.

Backs the Propoſition with ſome further Reaſons and Conſiderations.

IF all that hath been hitherto ſaid, be yet too little to reduce the Worſhip of God to the Apoſtolical Rule in this particular; I ſhall offer but theſe few things more, and leave them to conſideration.

1. Suppoſe that Chriſt himſelf, the ſupreme Lord and Maſter of the Aſſembly, were preſent in perſon among you in your places of Worſhip, Would you be covered or uncovered? I hope you will allow him the reverence that you allow your earthly Maſter or Prince. This Argument is but what God himſelf urges in onother Quarrel about his Worſhip, *Mal.* 1. 8. *Offer it now unto thy Governour, will he be pleaſed with thee, or accept thy perſon?* If the beſt that we have, muſt be taken for an offering to a Governour or Prince, who is but a man, is the beſt too good for God? And if the humbleſt tokens of Reverence be due to a Creature whom God hath ſet in Authority over us, is it not much more due to God, who is our Abſolute and Supream Governour and Lord?

Ob. But perhaps you may ſay, This is the way to bring in Superſtition into the Church; and makes, as if all thoſe Modes of civil Worſhip or Reverence which are due to Man, are much more due to God; ſo we may bring in *Circling*, and *Bowing*, and *making a Leg*, and a hundred other phantaſtical Geſtures, and quaint *Goggles* into the Worſhip of God, which are uſed in mens Courtly Addreſſes to their Superiors.

Anſ. 1.

Anſ. 1. This Propoſition is as far from favour of Superſtition or any uninſtituted Ceremony, as that of the Prophet, before quoted, is from Idolatry; where God ſays, *Offer it now to thy Governour.*

2. There are Ceremonies in Gods Worſhip, which are *common*, as was ſaid before *Chap.* 1. that is, ſuch as are equally uſed in Civil and Religious Matters, as *bowing the knee*, *uncovering the head*, &c. which ſignifie the Reverence that is due to God in his ſolemn Worſhip, and yet the ſame Ceremony is lawfully uſed alſo toward the Magiſtrate; ſo that though it be in it ſelf a civil Ceremony, yet in the Worſhip of God it is ſacred. And yet for all this it doth not follow, that all civil Ceremonies are ſo; but only ſuch as God, by the Law of Scripture or Nature, hath made neceſſary or proper to expreſs the inward Reverence and Worſhip of the mind by.

3. Both Scripture and Nature (as hath been ſhewed before) hath claimed this Ceremony in queſtion, as due to Gods ſolemn Worſhip; therefore it is a *Wickedneſs* to neglect it. Now the Argument runs thus: If Reverence be due to the preſence of a Magiſtrate, much more is it due to God, whom he doth but repreſent, and by whom it is that he rules; and if thoſe external ſhadows and ſigns of Reverence, which Nature and Cuſtom hath made proper to ſignifie the Reverence of the mind by, be due to a Creature, much more is that which God and Nature hath made proper to expreſs it by, due to God; Or, if you will, thus: The Worſhip that we offer unto God, muſt be performed, as in the preſence of that God whom we worſhip (unleſs we hope to go behind his back to Worſhip him) therefore if his viſible preſence would make us to be uncovered, his ſpiritual and inviſible preſence ſhould do no leſs. Yea, Chriſt is *viſibly* preſent in his Ordinances, though not *perſonally*, yet *Repreſentatively*, as the King is in all his Courts of Judicature by his *Officers* that repreſent him; ſo that what is done in the preſence of Chriſts *Ordinances* and *Officers*, is done in his preſence. And if by the *Angels*, 1 Cor. 11. 10. we are to underſtand the Meſſengers of the Goſpel, (as ſome will have it) then this is but the ſame Argument which the Apoſtle here urges, and muſt be allowed.

2. Let every one that yet reſolves to be of a contrary practice in this particular, conſider how he can be aſſur'd, that he doth not ſin in it. If it be matter of duty to be uncovered, then it is

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ſin to be covered; and if it be ſin, it can be no little ſin (were there any ſuch thing) it being an irreverent prophanation of Gods ſolemn Worſhip, of which the Holy God is always wont to be ſo very jealous. If it be ſuch a ſin, and wilfully perſiſted in after admonition, with what confidence can ſuch Worſhippers hope for acceptance with God? or indeed to eſcape his juſt vengeance? And who is there that would not tremble thus to mock and dare the Almighty? Therefore the only way is to tell us, as they do, that this is no matter of Duty, but of Liberty; and thus the Queſtion is eaſily anſwered, when it is well proved. We will not trouble our Brains at preſent, to conjecture by what unheard-of *Medium* they are ever like to make it probable; but rather adviſe the Objectors to conſider, whether their ſecurity be ſuch, as they dare venture the wrath of God, the loſs of all their religious Duties, and of their ſouls too, upon it. They ſuppoſe it to be a matter of liberty; it is their Opinion; yet they hear there is ſomething to be ſaid againſt it, and therefore but an Opinion and queſtionable; yea, they find ſome that are as confident, that it is a matter of Duty. We no where find it commanded to be covered, but here expreſly forbidden by the Apoſtle, if we underſtand him aright. Well! we will ſuppoſe the caſe to be doubtful, and the Queſtion ſhall be, which is the ſafer way; for *in dubiis tutior pars eſt eligenda.* Will any one that hath any regard to his ſoul, judge it ſafer to adventure upon a ſuppoſed Liberty (and that in ſo eaſie a task as uncovering the head) which is no where aſſerted in Scripture? or to comply with that which ſeems (though it did but ſeem) to be an expreſs command? If it be matter of Liberty, then there is no ſin on either hand. But what if this ſuppoſition ſhould be found falſe at laſt, and the great Judge determine againſt it? Where are the forward Objecters then? ſurely he is worſe than a mad man that will adventure his ſoul at ſo cheap a rate.

3. That which doth neceſſarily and *per ſe*, bring the Ordinances of God into contempt, muſt needs be a very great evil; but for the Man to have his head covered in any part of the publick Worſhip of God, is that which doth neceſſarily and *per ſe*, bring the Ordinances of God into contempt. *Erg.* I hope the *Major* will paſs for Orthodox in any part of the World, whether *Chriſtian*, *Jewiſh*, or *Pagan*. And I doubt not but the *Minor* will be prov'd to be altogether as true. Preaching is the Ordinance, and

and the great Ordinance of God; but this Ordinance it doth neceſſarily and *per ſe* bring into contempt. What is that keeps up the Honour and Credit of any thing in the World, but that viſible reſpect and reverence that is paid it in the ſight of men? The uncovering of the head is the great viſible ſign and token of Reverence; if this then be denied, how is the Reverence ſignified? And if there be no viſible Reverence, what follows but viſible contempt? and that as neceſſarily as darkneſs follows when light is gone. In vain is it to talk of the inward ſpiritual Reverence of the mind. For 1. where there is indeed this holy Principle, and good frame of Spirit within, it will naturally ſeek for vent, and expreſs it ſelf before men, in ſuch ways, and by ſuch means, as are commonly uſed, and taken to be the apteſt and moſt proper to expreſs it by. 2. Where there is this inward Reverence of the ſoul, it will ſeek (as all other gracious habits do) to propagate it ſelf to others. He that loves and fears God, would have all others to love and fear him too; and he that reverences Gods Ordinances, would that all others ſhould do the like; and therefore will be zealous and forward to teach and encourage them ſo to do by his example, as well as precept. But now who will ſay or believe that ſuch a one doth reverence Gods Ordinance, when they ſee no more ſign of Reverence than if he were only among his fellows, or about his ordinary buſineſs in the World? and by this means others alſo are taught, not only to behave themſelves with the ſame irreverence, and ſo run into the ſame guilt; but, which is worſe, to have ſlight and baſe thoughts of Gods Ordinance, yea, and of God himſelf too, who hath appointed it. When the Honour of an Ordinance is loſt, the ſaving power of it is loſt, and ſo becomes to the wicked a matter of ſcorn. So that beſides the wrong that is done to God, how great is the wrong that is hereby done to ſouls! perhaps this hath not been the leaſt thing that hath help'd to bring both Preaching and Preachers into contempt in theſe our licentious days, while the elder ſort have taught their children to behave themſelves with leſs reverence in Gods preſence, than Parents or Maſters will allow them in theirs. What more effectual courſe could be taken to breed up a new Generation of Scorners, and to joyn iſſue with the Devil, to baniſh the Authority of preaching from among men? that it ſhould be the intereſt of any people ſo to do, is very ſtrange!

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Concludes all with a ſerious and ſhort addreſs to the Non conforming Brethren, both Miniſters and People.

I Shall now ſhut up this Diſcourſe (wherein I doubt I have not been very welcome to ſome of my Readers) with a few words to my Brethren, both Miniſters and People.

1. To thoſe that are in the Miniſtry. Reverend and Dear Sirs! It is notoriouſly known, what hard things our *Mothers Children*, that are angry with us for not complying with all their impoſing-humours in ſacred things, have been long charging us with, and filling the ears of Authority with their harſh Declaimings againſt us, as a company of heady, high-minded, ſchiſmatical, ſelf-wil'd, and ungovernable Creatures; as if we were ſuch as pleaſed not God, and were contrary to all men. And very uneaſie it would be to bear it, did not the Conſcience of our ſimplicity make it light. But while we talk of Conſcience, and think to bear our ſelves upon the Goſpel-rights and Priviledges of it, we do but abuſe our ſelves, and harden them; and proſtitute the very name of Conſcience to open contempt, while we plead Conſcience to juſtifie our Diſobedience in the caſe of a few harmleſs (as they ſay) and gray headed Ceremonies; and yet make no Conſcience of that open prophanity and irreverence, which the very light of Nature would teach the poor Heathens to condemn and abhor in their Worſhip. Partiality in the matters of Conſcience, is one of the greateſt Scandals and Reproaches of Religion, and that which gives the Adverſary the greateſt advantage.

——pudet hæc opprobria nobis,
Et dici potuiſſe, & non potuiſſe refelli.

I have long wiſhed for a Rebuke to this irreverent, unſcriptural practice, from ſome graver, and more venerable hand or other; *For I ſaid, days ſhould ſpeak, and multitude of years ſhould teach wiſdom.* But I have not found any that have hitherto medled in this matter. And perhaps I ſhall be cenſur'd too, for being buſier than doth become me; but that (as far as it reſpects my ſelf) ſhall be put on the private ſcore, and be one of my leaſt concerns; yet

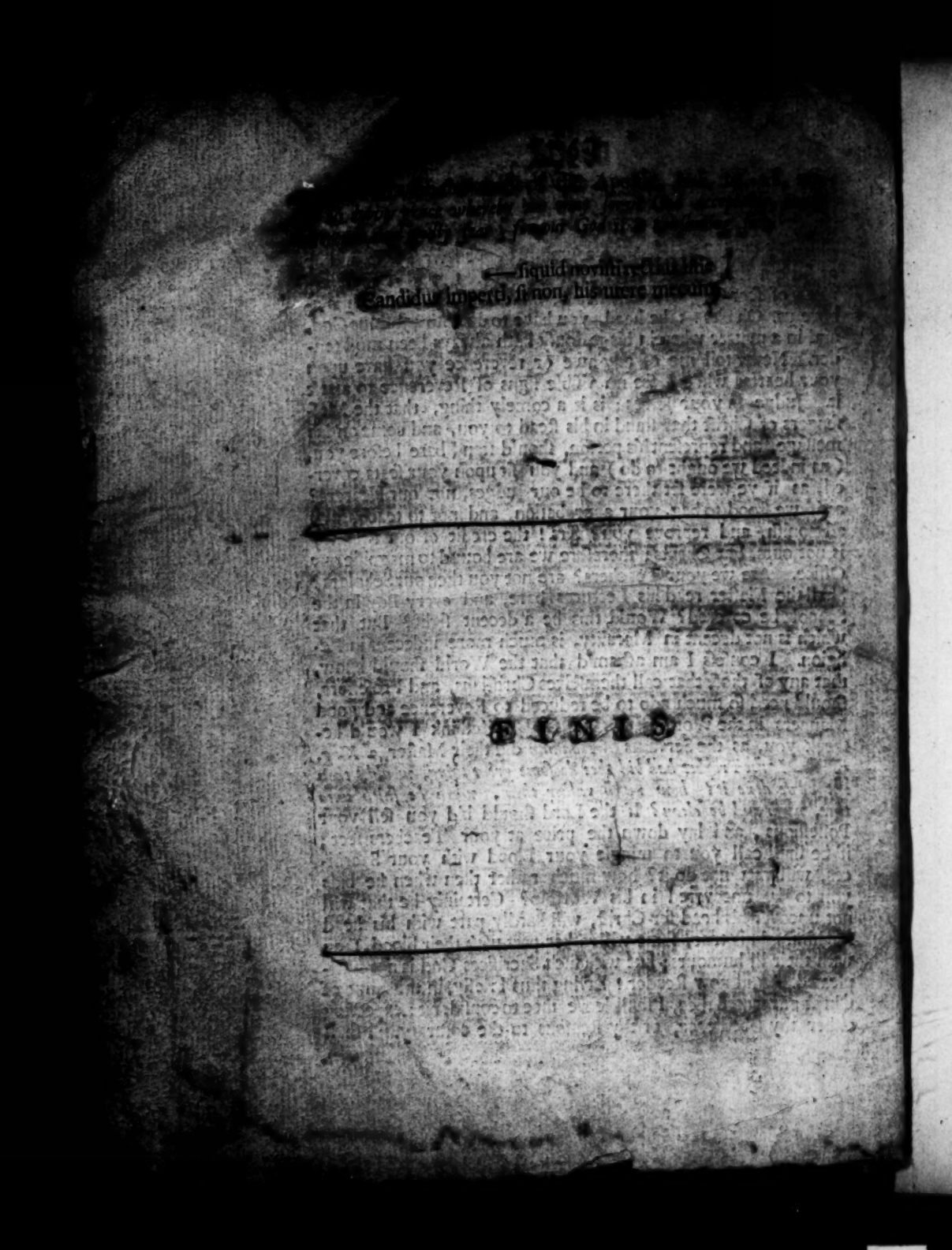
yet this is that which is my defence. The Apoſtle himſelf hath ſpent no leſs than 16. Verſes upon the caſe before me; and I have not ſpent half ſo many ſheets. If then I muſt paſs for a *Trifler*, let it be becauſe I have ſaid no more, or ſaid it no better; which fault, I hope ſome wiſer man or other will ſhortly mend; and I ſhall patiently ſubmit to any reaſonable Correction.

Sirs! when I hear that voice of God himſelf to his Servant *Moſes*, from *Exod.* 3. 5. *Put off thy ſhooes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou ſtandeſt is holy ground*; and the ſame to *Joſhua* too, *Joſh.* 5. 15. I dare not make light of the external ſigns of Reverence in the ſpecial preſence of the holy One, who hath declared, that he will be ſanctifyed of all that come nigh to him. What was it that made thoſe places holier than others, but Gods ſpecial preſence there, which alone was able to conſecrate it? I do not think that one place is holier under the Goſpel, than another, with what pompous Ceremonies ſoever men may pretend to conſecrate it; nor that there is any Reverence due to one place more than to another, on the account of its ſuppoſed Conſecration; but Gods Ordinances, I am ſure, are as holy as ever they were; and God is as much to be reverenced as ever. *Holy and Reverend* is that name of his, which he will never change. The uncovering of the feet was among ſome people a token of Reverence and Subjection, and uſed in *ſacris*; whence they had their *Nudipedalia ſacra*: and in token of their Reverence and Homage, this Ceremony was religiouſly obſerved. The uncovering of the head is with us a token of the ſame thing; therefore by a parity of reaſon, is due to Divine Worſhip. Is it not a ſhameful thing, and hard to be born by any that are tender of Gods Honour, to ſee how every ill-manner'd Boy, and daring Youth, that neither regard nor underſtand their Duty to God or Man, ruſh into the preſence of the great *Jehovah*, with that wanton levity and unconcernedneſs, as if they were come about ſome of their own *Puerilia*, their Games and Sports; and behave themſelves with that bold irreverence, which would be thought intolerable in the preſence of their Superiors? as if the places of Gods publick Worſhip were the allowed *Theaters* of Prophanity, and rudeſt Liberty? And for all this, they will plead the toleration, yea, the example of their Seniors. *Pudet hæc opprobria*, &c.

Now Sirs! the guilt of this is charg'd on us, who are their Teachers. And the truth is, I know not how we can clear our

 ſelves,

ſelves, either to God or Man, without our utmoſt and faithful endeavors to remedy it; which now will be the more difficult, becauſe by our long ſilence we have encouraged and ſetled them in it. But ſeeing the difficulty is much of our own procuring, this ſhould be ſo far from diſcouraging, that it ſhould quicken us to more. How can we expect that God ſhall bleſs his word in our mouths, while we can ſee it thus diſhonour'd, and be ſilent? And what though you may expect the unjuſt Cenſures and Frowns of ſome of your froward Hearers? it is not for the Meſſengers of the Lord of Hoſts to fear the diſpleaſure of men. Nay, in the diſcharge of your Duty, you have not only the peace of your own Conſciences, but the promiſe of Gods bleſſing. God may ſubdue mens wills to the obedience of the truth, beyond what you expect. For my own part, I bleſs God for the ſucceſs I have had, and that with very little labour, and which hath encouraged me to recommend it unto others. And what if your Congregations ſhould be the thinner? a handful of humble, ſerious, reverent Worſhippers, are better than a multitude of proud, rude, prophane, phantaſtical ones. Nor will this weaken the Intereſt you ſhould uphold; a few that *lap*, are a ſafer guard, and ſurer of victory, than a whole Army of ſuch as God doth not chuſe. Nor need you fear of making more Diviſions, or raiſing fires among thoſe, whoſe intereſt it is, eſpecially at ſuch a time, to be united. 'Tis mens luſts and imperious wills that make Diviſions, and not Gods Law, nor the zealous preſſing of Duty. As for thoſe that will depart on ſuch a ſcore, let them depart; we need them no more than the Wheat doth need the Chaff in the floor, or the good Figs needeth the bad. I know no good ſuch Worſhippers do in an Aſſembly, but hinder Prayers. God is now refining us, and let us be refined. But perhaps all theſe fears may be but falſe ſuggeſtions of the evil one, who is ſo pelaſed to ſee holy things prophaned. For my own part, I can teſtifie, that I have found the quite contrary of theſe fears. But I muſt conſider to whom I am ſpeaking. Pardon, Dear Sirs! this plainneſs and liberty of Speech. *Verbum ſat ſapienti.* I will ſay no more, I could ſay no leſs.

2. To the people; If I have not yet anſwered all your Objections, I wiſh I knew them, that I might endeavour to anſwer them; but if I have anſwered them, I hope you will be perſwaded. Sirs! Perhaps you ſtill look on the matter I have been now im-

imployed in, as a ſmall thing; and truly were it not that, where-in the Honour of Gods Worſhip and Ordinances were intereſſed, it would for me paſs for a ſmall thing. Could we ſecure the glory of God, by taking the contempt to our ſelves, it ſhould be as little a thing, as you would have it to be. But alas! theſe arrows of ſcornfully over our heads, and wound that which is above us. Oh Sirs! take heed, you have to do with a jealous God, and in a matter wherein his jealouſy hath always been moſt tender. Never tell me of any awe or reverence you have upon your hearts, while I ſee no viſible ſigns of Reverence to atteſt it. Judge in your ſelves; is it a comely thing, that the Meſſengers of Chriſt that ſtand in his ſtead to you, and come on his meſſage, and repreſent his perſon, ſhould ſtand bare before you, (as indeed we ought to do) and you ſit upon your ſeats covered, as if ye were ſet there to be our Judges, not our Hearers? as if we ſtood to beg your approbation, and not to teach, and admoniſh, and reprove you? Sirs! the credit of our Miniſtry is not ours, but Chriſts; therefore we are bouud to magnifie our Office. Are we your Teachers? are not you then our Scholars? Shall the Maſter read his Lectures bare, and every Boy in the School be covered? Would this be a decent ſight? But that which is not decent in Morality, is much more indecent in Religion. I confeſs I am aſham'd that the World ſhould know, that any of thoſe that call themſelves Chriſtians, and Profeſſors, ſhould need ſo much ado to be reduced to Reverence and good Manners in the Worſhip of their God. Methink I would beſpeak you, as the Servants of *Naaman* did their Maſter, 2 *King.* 5. 13. *If the Prophet had bid thee do ſome great thing, wouldſt thou not have done it? how much rather then, when he ſaith unto thee, waſh and be clean?* If the Lord ſhould bid you ſell your Poſſeſſions, and lay down the price at your Teachers feet; if he ſhall call you to mingle your Blood with your Sacrifices, will you not do it? how much rather then when he bids you to be uncovered in his Worſhip? Certainly he that will not uncover his head for Chriſt, will hardly part with his head for him. 'Tis true, ſome will rather part with their blood, than with their ill humours; but with ſuch Sacrifices God is not well-pleaſed. And now Reader! having thus briefly, in the name of Chriſt advertiſed thee, I ſhall leave thee to conſider it; expecting either thy Obedience, or thy Reaſons to the contrary. I ſhall con-